POLICING NATIVE COMMUNITIES

CANADIAN POLICE COLLEGE

COLLÈGE CANADIEN DE POLICE

POLICING NATIVE COMMUNITIES

Donald J. Loree
Research and Program Development Branch
Canadian Police College, Ottawa

The Canadian Police College
A Canadian Police Service of
The Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Ottawa
1985

The Canadian Police College
P.O. Box 8900
Ottawa, Ontario
K1G 3J2

90-01231/

NOTE: The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Canadian Police College or any government department or agency.

The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Canadian Police College or any government department or agency.

RCMP GRC ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE GENDARMERIE ROYALE DU CANADA

Published by:

Canadian Police College
P.O. Box 8900
Ottawa, Ontario
Canada K1G 3J2

© Minister of Supply and Services Canada (1987)
PRB. 136
JS66-6/1987 E
0-662-15050-3

Également disponible en français sous le titre La police des autochtones

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Tables..... ii

Figures..... v

Acknowledgements..... vi

Policing Native Communities..... 1

The Problem..... 3

Methodology 12

Contact..... 15

Training and Experience..... 19

Interaction - The Policing Process..... 28

Perceptions Of The Native Community..... 45

Fieldwork - 3 Case Studies..... 60

Comments..... 77

Summary and Conclusions..... 80

The Future..... 96

Bibliography.....100

TABLES

1. Percentage of Police Work With Native People as Reported by Officers 15

2. The Most Frequently Cited Context of Official Contact Between Police Officers and Native People 16

3. The Most Frequently Noted Context of Social Interaction Between Police Officers and Native People 18

4. Self-Assessment by Regular Members of Their General Knowledge About Native Peoples in Canada 20

5. Self-Assessment by Special Constables of Their General Knowledge About Native Peoples in Canada 21

6. A Comparison of Regular Members' and Special Constables' Assessment of the Usefulness, to them, of Prior Knowledge of the Native Community 25

7. Regular Members' Report of the Location of Off-Reserve Native Population in the Detachment Area 28

8. Percentage of Regular Members Indicating Differences in Their Dealings with Natives and Non-Natives, Ranked by Importance 29

9. Officers' Involvement With Offences During the Previous Month (TOTAL SAMPLE) 33

10. Officers' Involvement With Offences During the Previous Month (NATIVE CONTACT SAMPLY ONLY) .. 35

11. A Comparison of Regular Members' and Special Constables' Perception of the General State of Native - Non-Native Relations in Their Detachment Area 36

12. A Comparison of the Most Important Areas of Difficulty Experienced by Officers in Native and Non-Native Communities 40

13. The Most Important Reason Cited by Officers for Their Perception of the Native View of the Police 42

14. Police Officers' Perceptions of the Native Community - Interaction Dimensions 46

15. Police Officers' Perceptions of the Native Community - Socio-Cultural Dimensions 48

16. Police Officers' Perceptions of the Native Community - Organizational-Structural Dimensions 50

17. Cross-Tabulation of Respondents' Status and Organizational-Structural Index 52

18. Cross-Tabulation of Respondents' Status and Socio-Cultural Index 53

19. Officers' Perception of the Main Way in Which the Police Can Improve Their Relationship With the Native Community 55

20. Officers' Perception of the Main Way in Which the Native Community Can Improve Their Relationship With the Police 56

21. Summary of Police Activity Showing Type of Incident and Status of Client - Site I 69

22. Summary of Police Activity Showing Type of Incident and Status of Client - Site II 70

23. Summary of Police Activity Showing Type of Incident and Status of Client - Site III 71

FIGURES

1. A Comparison of Regular Members' Self-Assessment of Their Knowledge of Native People in the Detachment Area When They First Arrived and at the Present (N=222) 23

2. A Comparison of Special Constables' Self-Assessment of Their Knowledge of Native People in the Detachment Area When They First Arrived and at the Present (N=65) 24

3. Reported Time Spent by Officers in Law Enforcement and Service/Peacekeeping Activity With Either Natives or Non-Natives .. 31

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A study such as this involves many individuals and I would like to extend my sincere thanks to all who assisted in any way. The hundreds of police officers who answered questionnaires and who co-operated so fully during the field work deserve special mention.

Others who coded, typed, commented on earlier versions and offered special support or assistance include Insp. R. Ostrum, Insp. James Hill, Sgt. D. Anderson, Donene Grant, Lois Chaffey, Barb Wolnick, Pat Quick, Nicole Dubois, Diane Humphreys, Nancy Toonders.

POLICING NATIVE COMMUNITIES

Introduction

The relationship between the police, especially the R.C.M.P., and Native peoples in Canada has been long and complex. This is especially so in the Canadian prairies where the R.C.M.P. has its roots and where, today, it remains accountable for much of the policing responsibilities of Native communities. Historically, N.W.M.P. and R.C.M.P. members accompanied most treaty parties and served as a visible symbol of the country, the Crown, and pax Ottawa. In the early days of confederation, as today, the R.C.M.P. were an important link between the government and Native peoples; enforcing the laws of the land on the one hand and protecting the community on the other.

This dual role and the marginal position occupied by the R.C.M.P. is at the heart of much controversy surrounding the relations between Native peoples and police: and more abstractly, between Native people and the whole criminal justice system in Canada. The relationship between indigenous peoples and the R.C.M.P. has thus been characterized, at times, by misunderstandings, conflicts and violence as individuals and organizations met on a developing frontier and meet now in a changing, modern, technological society. At other times, the relationship has been one of respect, friendship, and harmonious interaction. In both extremes, and throughout the continuum between them, the role of particular local circumstances, and individuals, has been of critical importance. Universal policy concerns and societyshaking events are ultimately interpreted in the situation at hand by the individuals on the scene.

Whatever the specifics, the police, and again the R.C.M.P. in particular, have long been among the most, if not the most, visible and obviously powerful manifestation of a dominant Euro-Canadian society, its institutions, customs and laws. In this

role the police have the capacity to serve as both a bridge and a barrier between Native peoples and the non-Native society. In this role, the police as an institution, and individual officers, have a unique relationship with Native people; perhaps, it can be argued, a unique responsibility. It is this relationship between the R.C.M.P. and Native communities that is explored here.

THE PROBLEM

Native People and the Law

In the last decade or so there have been a number of systematic efforts to explore the treatment of Native people by the law and criminal justice system. [In this report, unless there are reasons for more specific identification, "Native people", "Native", etc., will be used to refer to persons with Indian status under the Indian Act and non-status Indians or Metis.] Indians and the Law, publishished in 1967, was a signal effort in this direction.[17] Among the many points made in this report, the recognition that prejudice and discrimination are encountered by many Native people in Canada, and the profound social and economic ramifications after generations of such experiences, stand out. The report suggests that Native peoples must assume some responsibility for breaking the cycle of poverty in which they are enmeshed and regaining a greater measure of self-esteem and self-discipline. With respect to the law in particular though, the report argues that it is "a foreign law to the Indians and Eskimos, not based on their culture or history and not reflecting their values"(p.56). However, as Native people are a part of Canadian society, it continues, they "must learn to understand the laws and the reasons for their enforcement". In both the development of an understanding of the legal and judicial systems imposed on them, and in a reduction of prevalent discrimination and general social economic isolation, the non-Native society must assume the major responsibility and make the major moves.

The significance of recommendations in these and related areas, can be seen in developments since 1967 in the relationship between some facets of the criminal justice system and Native peoples. In other areas there has been little change in a decade and a half. Cultural differences remain, perhaps not as obviously as in the past, but certainly in the area of core values. Prejudice and discrimination in Canada have not been eliminated - nor are they ever likely to be. And, most importantly for many, if

not most Natives, the basic reality noted in 1967 remains a reality in 1982: "...there is little point in trying to solve the conflict with the law on the part of Indians and Eskimos without a parallel effort to solve the economic and social problems that exist among these people" (P.57, emphasis added).[17]

Later works, such as that by D.A. Schmeiser[22] examine available data in as much detail as possible: highlighting in the process the paucity of data and the apparent lack of concern by those in positions of authority. Such works demonstrate clearly the complexity of the relationship between Native peoples and the criminal justice system, and the social, economic, political and historical components. What Schmeiser, in particular, demonstrates though are the difficulties and many of the pitfalls of identifying or proposing simplistic solutions to apparently obvious problems. The data that Schmeiser presents, strongly supported in subsequent research,[14] clearly show that Native people are disproportionately (a) in trouble with the law, (b) incarcerated, and (c) the recipients of poorer treatment in all segments of the criminal justice system.

In the extensive literature about relations between Euro-Canadians and Native peoples, many possible socio-economic and cultural factors are identified, although not always specifically linked to the interaction with police. Among the more commonly cited are poverty, the social and economic disruption of community and organization, social isolation, physical isolation, and cultural differences in attitudes, norms and values. The relative impact or significance of each of these factors varies with the history of inter-relationships in particular regions or communities. Thus, while no universally applicable causal "syndrome" can be demonstrated, it is clear that these factors, singly or in combination, appear to be linked to "crime" and "deviance" - as defined by the dominant society and its institutions. A basic and pervasive conflict is thus engendered.

Whatever the particular situation and causal factors cited, and whether considered overtly, or whether merely implicit in the discussion, sentiments such as the following are ubiquitous.

> Underlying all problems associated with Indians and Eskimos in this country are the prejudice and discrimination they meet in the attitude of non-Indians. The result is a conviction on the part of Indians and Eskimos that they are not really part of the dominant Canadian society and that their efforts to better themselves will fail because they do not have an even chance.[17(p55)]

Identified and stereotyped on the basis of racial criteria, cultural definitions, or both, the Native peoples of Canada have generally and consistently fared poorly in their contacts with dominant institutions. An examination of any comparative data relating to occupations, income, health, corrections and the like clearly show the consequences. Typically negative stereotypes continue to have support from media, public figures, laws, lack of contact, public ignorance, and apathy. In few places has this been more evident than in the Native peoples' contacts with the dominant society's laws and criminal justice system. Based on personal experiences, knowledge of past events, and an acute awareness of present reality, the perceptions of continued, inevitably inequitable treatment before the law, are strongly entrenched. A comment in Indians and the Law is still valid today.

> A fuller understanding of what it means to be caught between two cultures would result in a more sympathetic application of our laws and legal system to Indians and Eskimos. Our law is a foreign law to the Indians and Eskimos, not based on their culture or their history and not reflecting their values. They therefore do not understand it and often resent it.[17(p.56)]

This is of particular relevance to police, who are at the front edge of the criminal justice system and the most obvious point of contact with the "law".

Native People and the Police

In spite of what is known about the possible causes of Native peoples' disproportionate involvement with the law, and the data regarding consequences, little is available which explores the approach to, and interaction with, the Native community by the police. More recent Canadian work on this topic,[3,23,12] like much of the American work[25,9,5] focuses upon attitudinal factors, especially attitudes toward the police by Natives.

The first close contacts that Native people have with the law, like those of most individuals, are with individual police officers. For most, this and subsequent contact is law enforcement related; contact between a real, suspected or perceived potential offender and an officer performing police functions in an official capacity. Monture suggests that the demands of policing Native communities may create a situation "where bitterness prevails on both sides". "The constant surveillance sometimes required by the Indian and Metis people can, under these circumstances, harden into open dislike on the part of the police. Where this occurs the Indian people, in turn, may respond by being withdrawn and uncommunicative when sober and highly belligerent and aggressive when drunk".[17(p.36)] The extent to which Native people, individuals or communities, receive the benefits of police service and peacekeeping functions is debatable. This, as Monture notes will vary considerably from situation to situation and is likely dependent in large measure on the orientation of the officers involved.[17]

The situation for anyone who is the subject of police attention, for whatever reason, may be traumatic. For many Native people however, history and current events often combine to exacerbate the contact. Emphasis upon law enforcement, especially if it is perceived as unwarranted and linked to inadequate understanding of Native communities will inevitably result in a heightened sense of conflict and diminished respect for the law and the police.

Greater attention paid to "the promotion of crime prevention", it is argued, would do much to alleviate these tensions.[16] The need for greater preventive or proactive policing in Native communities has been identified by others as well as a major raison d'être for the establishment of Tribal Police[26] or of Special Constables in the R.C.M.P.[10]

In most Native communities, the policeman is regarded as an outsider. He represents, and with his uniform symbolizes, an external society and power structure. He may be perceived by many, especially the younger and/or more activist oriented, as an agent of the dominant society and its laws and customs. These perceptions and beliefs will persist, whether or not the individual likes it, notices, or even cares. They will persist in spite of individual or institutional efforts to change the image, because of the police officer's role in the community: especially if the law enforcement component predominates. While this is not universal of course, there are many who would echo Howard Adams' sentiments that the R.C.M.P. have been, and continue to be, the enforcing agents of a colonizing government.[1]

Native peoples generally have a strong cultural emphasis on the maintenance of history through oral communication covering many generations of a community's or family's life. It is often difficult, even impossible, for an individual officer, identified and stereotyped in terms of his membership in the R.C.M.P. organization to counter the individual experiences of many Native people at the hands of those who preceded him. Any newcomer to a fairly closed community must establish his or her role in it; and that role must be legitimated by the community. The police officer, because of an externally established law enforcement role has little scope for establishing a "non-law-enforcement" role that can be accepted by members of the community. This situation is not improved by what the community may perceive as an over-emphasis on "law enforcement" due to organizational and often personal factors.

Unfortunately, for most Native people the economic and social interaction with Canadian society over the years has been far from satisfactory. Unemployment is high, poverty is endemic, and prejudice and discrimination are all too frequently encountered. The police officer working in a Native community is frequently caught in the middle; as marginal in his role as are many Native people to the dominant society. Each exists and attempts to function in the grey area between the more traditional, non-European, norms, values and organizations of the Native community and the laws, customs and structures of the larger society. The police officer is thus often caught in the middle in more ways than one: a readily available and highly visible symbol of government failures, misunderstandings and broken promises. A safe fallback for the officer exists though in "the book" and the presumed universality of "the law". Few Native people have such security.

In addition, most police officers in Native communities are of Euro-Canadian ancestry and thus identified inextricably with the culture - norms, values and institutions - of the non-Native society. In that racial and cultural identification and stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination are an intimate part of the history of relations between whites and Native people in Canada, the white officer is doubly suspect; as a non-Native and as a police officer. He may be perceived as bringing with him what the Native community commonly regards as the dominant society's attitudes: whether in fact he does so or not. He almost certainly brings with him the socialization, experience and sub-cultural "baggage" of the police organization which in its own way provides him with an oral tradition and history, myths, legends and stereotypes as strong or stronger than those of the community he polices. The individual's effectiveness as a police officer in the fullest sense of the role is thus coloured by a complex process of interaction between organizations, individuals, and perceptions.

The Research Problem

This study examines two major dimensions of the relationship between the police and Native people; the institutional dimension and that of the individual officer's perceptions of, and interactions with, the community. The focus is on the extent to which the police as an institution or as individual officers are allowed, or willing to take into account the nature of the community they serve; nowhere more of an issue, as Alderson emphasizes, than in minority communities.[2]

Alderson argues that "The proper constructive use of police discretion should be at the heart of enforcement policies and styles".[2(p.24)] In Native communities where major socio-economic and cultural differences are usually present, the application of a universalistic law enforcement policy, without due regard for these differences and perhaps the use of enlightened discretion, may lead to ineffective policing and unnecessary conflict. Alderson argues in this regard "...that a superior democratic police, while appreciating the need for objectivity in mixed cultural situations, has to be prepared to be subjective and accommodating with singular cultural settings within the mixed society".[2(p.26)] A universalistic, strictly "objective" approach, in addition to being less effective may contribute to diminished job satisfaction, diminished community respect for the police and for the law and, in the end, not meet the real policing needs of the community.

These problems are of special significance for policing where prejudice and discrimination are part of the overall relationship between minority and dominant parties. Predominant attitudes and indifference are and reflected in both institutions and individual actions. The police are certainly no exception. Although referring to the situation in Great Britain, Alderson makes a point that also has considerable relevance in Canada; in Native communities and in broader multicultural settings.

> ...superior police will develop the ability to be sympathetic towards the policed. Where some police may find difficulty in feeling sympathetic they should nevertheless manifest outward signs of it in their work. This calls for considerable self control which lies at the heart of much superior police work. There will of course be times when some police will lack the ability to work in sympathy with alien cultures and to develop attitudes of understanding; if so, they should not be allowed to police such areas. At least they should be withdrawn if superior policing is regarded as the intention and they should then be redeployed in areas more compatible with their attitudes, though this is only a poor second best since all members of superior police should be capable of the necessary adjustments.[2(pp.26-27)]

Simply stated, the issue addressed here is the relationship between Native communities in Canada and the police; specifically the R.C.M.P. Relations are not always harmonious and conflicts may emerge for many reasons; cultural differences, economic factors, political and ideological divergences, and so forth. This study seeks to identify areas of conflict, address their causes and make suggestions for improvement as well as factors which reduce conflict or improve the relationship. Of particular concern are the education and training of officers for the exigencies of policing Native communities, actual police activity and officers' knowledge and perceptions of the community, issues identified in a number of reports.[11,13,16]

Research Questions

Several major research questions have been addressed.

1.a. To what extent do structural and cultural facets of the Native community affect the type of policing possible and/or provided?

b. What special or unique policing problems are found in Native communities?

c. What assistance might be provided, to the police and to the community to alleviate these problems?

2.a. How adequate is the education and/or training of officers posted to detachments serving Native populations?

b. What type of training has been, or may be, best suited to effective policing of Native communities?

3. What is the role of Native Special Constables in policing Native communities and how are they perceived by both other officers and the community?

METHODOLOGY

Phase I

The goal of this phase was to obtain as broad and complete a picture as possible of interaction between police and Native people and communities. A 15 percent probability sample was drawn from all Constables and N.C.O.'s on general duties in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The three Prairie provinces were selected because of broad similarities in Native culture, patterns of settlement, and contact with Euro-Canadians. Data were collected by means of a questionnaire mailed in late 1981. Three hundred and forty-four (85%) of the Regular Member (R.M.) sample and 66 (80%) of the Indian Special Constable population of 83 responded to the questionnaire. In terms of proportional representation by rank and province, both sample and response distributions were very close to the population. This, and the high response rates provide a strong indication that the responses are characteristic of the population. Overall, 77 percent of the respondents are Constables and 23 percent are N.C.O.'s. The mean age of Regular Members is 29.4 years (range 21-50) and that of Special Constables is 27.6 years (range 19-44).

Education is an important factor influencing individuals' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour and would seem to be of critical concern in policing minority populations were marked socio-economic and cultural differences are often encountered. Overall, 83.6 percent of the R.M. respondents had completed high school, 31 percent have taken at least 1 university course, 6.1 percent have completed a baccalaureate degree and 8.6 percent are now working toward a degree. About 30 percent have taken some other post-secondary courses and almost 14 percent have obtained a diploma; most from communmity colleges and polytechnical institutes. The education profile of the Special Constables is, as expected, quite

different from that of the Regular Members: one third of the Special Constables have completed high school and about 10 percent have taken one or more university courses.

Ninety percent of the Constables and 65 percent of the N.C.O.s have completed high school. More than twice as many Constables as N.C.O.s have taken university courses (35.0% and 15.1% respectively) and 16 Constables but no N.C.O.s report having completed a degree. About three times the percentage of Constables are working toward a degree when compared to N.C.O.s (9.9% and 3.7%, respectively). Similar findings emerge from the non-university post-secondary data. All of these data correlate closely with age: the younger the individual, the greater the likelihood of involvement with, or completion of, post-secondary education. The indications are that increasingly better educated Constables are moving through the system: a group showing, in addition, some continuing interest in higher education.

About 52 percent of the R.M. respondents are in rural detachments, 25 percent are in municipal detachments with the remainder indicating highway or combined detachments. Not surprisingly, almost three-quarters of the Special Constables are at rural detachments. Of the Regular Members citing contact with Native people, 79 percent indicate that Natives constituted less than half of the total population in their detachment area, 41.6 percent indicating 10 percent or less. Thirty-nine percent of the Special Constables, almost double the percentage of Regular Members, are in areas over 50 percent Native.

Phase II

In this phase, survey data were augmented with field research in operational detachments and the Native communities they serve. Because of time and financial constraints, it was possible to select only three sites with about a week being spent in each.

Site one is located very close to a major city; site two is near a small non-Native town but at some distance from a large population centre; and the third is an isolated community, almost entirely Native.

Although the actual research activities varied somewhat according to the particulars of each site the same basic pattern of activity was followed. Interviews, ranging from semi-structured to relatively unstructured were conducted. In each community, a broad cross-section of opinion was sought and discussions were held variously with Chiefs, counsellors, elders, young men, teenagers, those with criminal records and those without, storekeepers, non-Native local residents and so on. Where possible, information gained from one source was cross-checked with other knowledgeable informants.

CONTACT

Part of the "commonsense" perspective, reinforced by "war stories", is that much of the police work in the Prairies involves Native people. ["Native" refers to persons of Aboriginal descent, including status and non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit. "Indian" refers to persons registered, or entitled to be registered as Indians under the Indian Act.] According to 1981 census information[24] Native people constitute 6.5 percent of the population of Manitoba, 6.2 percent in Saskatchewan, and 3.3 percent in Alberta; the fifth, fourth and sixth largest group in each province respectively. Native people represent 2.04 percent of the total Canadian population and 4.7 percent in the three Prairie provinces combined. To determine the amount of contact, respondents were asked to indicate how much of their "police work" is involved with Native people. Although over 35 percent of all Regular Members have no police contact 30 percent report that half or more of their police work is so involved.

TABLE 1

Percentage of Police Work With Native People as Reported by Officers

	Regular Member (N=344)	Special Constable (N=66)
None	35.5	0
Less than 25%	6.4	0
About 25%	27.6	6.1
About 50%	10.2	18.2
About 75%	11.9	43.9
All or Almost All	8.4	31.8
Total	100%	100%

TABLE 2

Most Frequently Cited Context of Official Contact Between Police Officers and Native People

	Regular Member (N=217)	Special Constable (N=60)
Alcohol related	41.9	21.7
Traffic (non-alcohol related)	12.4	1.7
Community Relations (Preventive)	3.7	15.0
Violence	3.2	3.3
Domestic Incidents	2.8	1.7
Property Offences	2.3	1.7
Routine Service Calls	20.3	43.3
Provincial Statutes (General)	1.4	0
Criminal Code (General)	8.8	3.3
Other	3.2	8.3
Total	100%	100%

For Regular Members, alcohol-related incidents are by far the most common context of interaction. The responses of Regular Members and Special Constables show a rather different perception of the work situation in some important respects. A striking difference involves the numbers mentioning alcohol-related incidents as the most frequent contact. There are also marked differences in "Community Relations" and "Routine Service" categories. The former may reflect differences in job description. Differences in the latter may indicate the uses to which Special Constables are put by detachment commanders - handling routine calls "on the reserve". The difference vis-a-vis alcohol-related incidents is harder to explain although observations during the field-work

suggest that the perception of an incident can vary: Regular Members perceiving an incident as primarily alcohol related and Special Constables defining the same, or similar, contact as service. These data, and the field observations, also suggest that Special Constables, by virtue of their greater working contact with Native people, have a broader range of official contacts and hence are able to observe more facets of the community in greater detail.

Police officers often play a variety of other roles in the community and have many non-official contacts with citizens. The frequency and context of non-official or social contact with Native people was determined to explore this facet of police-community interaction. Only 55 percent of the Regular Members with some contact, and 86 percent of the Special Constables cite some social interaction with Native people. Of this group 51 percent of the Special Constables indicate daily, and 79 percent frequent (daily or once or twice a week) social interaction while the figures for Regular Members are 19 and 52 percent respectively. Twenty-one percent of the latter indicate such social contact occurs only several times a year.

The context of social contact of Regular Members differs in some significant respects from that of Special Constables. For the former, sports and recreational activities are by far the most frequent situation for social interaction while social visits and contacts that occur because of residence are more frequently cited by Special Constables.

TABLE 3

The Most Frequently Cited Context of Social Interaction Between Police Officers and Native People

	Regular Member (N=114)	Special Constable (N=51)
Sports and Recreational Activities	57.0	31.3
Social Visits	20.2	39.2
Casual Encounters (Shops, Cafes and on the Street)	17.5	4.0
Quasi-official	4.4	11.8
Neighbours (close residence)	0	7.8
Other	0.9	5.9
Total	100%	100%

The high proportion of Regular Members who indicate that their social contact with Native people occurred in casual encounters may indicate an unwillingness or an inability to make other contacts. While data for sports and recreational activities are not surprising the relatively large number indicating social visiting is. From fieldwork observation, a considerable proportion of this probably involves Special Constables and community leaders.

TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

Police training and experience, as well as officers' formal education, may be important factors related to police-community relations. This is particularly true when the individual, and the police organization itself, manifest differences from that community. Such differences exist at the level of norms, values, attitudes and perspectives, as well as broader organizational structures. In other words, the police officer and the Force often represent a significantly different cultural heritage and all that this entails.

Most officers of Euro-Canadian ancestry have undergone a formal and informal socialization process that allows them to adapt fairly readily to a variety of communities and situations - as long as those communities are predominately Euro-Canadian. Similar socialization patterns lead to similar expectations, common understandings and definitions, and the like. However, this may not hold true when the community being policed represents a different, minority, cultural heritage. This is a critical issue if the police are not to be isolated from, or alienate, significant components of the community.

All respondents were asked about their general knowledge of Native people in Canada as a whole, focusing on six important dimensions, of relevance for policing, and the type of information that officers know, or learn, to some extent about any community they police.

Looking at the first three dimensions in Table 4 a significant proportion (40-50%) select the intermediate "Fair" category with the remainder split fairly evenly between the extremes: "Good - Very Good" and "Poor - Very Poor". In the "Native Organizations" category, less than 20 percent indicate "Very Good" or "Good" knowledge and almost 40 percent "Poor" or "Very Poor". A much

TABLE 4

Self-Assessment by Regular Members of Their General Knowledge About Native Peoples in Canada

Dimension	State of Knowledge[1] Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	Total
History (N=343)	2.6	26.2	47.5	21.3	2.3	100%
Culture and Tradition (N=343)	2.3	26.2	41.4	24.5	5.5	100%
Relations with Government (N=343)	1.7	21.0	50.4	23.6	3.2	100%
Native Organizations (N=342)	2.0	16.4	44.2	33.0	4.4	100%
Economic Conditions (N=341)	10.9	44.0	32.6	11.4	1.2	100%
Social Conditions (N=341)	11.7	42.8	32.6	10.6	2.3	100%

1. Percentage of respondents selecting each category on each dimension.

TABLE 5

Self-Assessment by Special Constables of Their General Knowledge About Native Peoples in Canada

Dimension	State of Knowledge[1] Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	Total
History (N=64)	18.8	42.2	28.1	7.8	3.1	100%
Culture and Tradition (N=65)	23.1	52.3	20.0	1.5	3.1	100%
Relations with Government (N=64)	9.4	37.5	42.2	7.8	3.1	100%
Native Organizations (N=64)	14.1	48.4	31.3	3.1	3.1	100%
Economic Conditions (N=65)	20.0	44.6	21.5	9.2	4.6	100%
Social Conditions (N=65)	20.0	43.1	23.1	9.2	4.6	100%

1. Percentage of respondents selecting each category on each dimension.

higher percentage of respondents believe their knowledge of economic and social conditions is "Good" or "Very Good"; the type of knowledge gained more readily through operational work in any community, Native or otherwise. Special Constables (Table 5) profess a much greater level of general knowledge than do the Regular Members. However, the number who indicate "Poor" or "Very Poor" shows the fallacy of making the assumption that because an individual is an Indian he or she knows all about Indians.

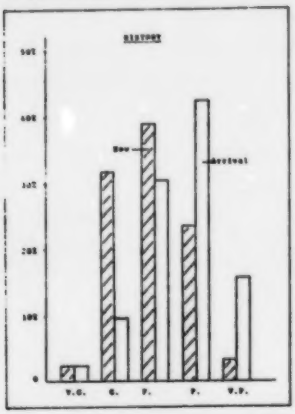
Respondents with some Native contact were asked specifically about their knowledge of Native people in the area served by their detachment: first about their knowledge at the present and second, about when they first arrived at the detachment. Answers are compared to assess both current knowledge and changes over time. For both Regular Members and Special Constables, between the time of arrival and the present, there is a marked increase in the "Good - Very Good" categories across the board. The increase in knowledge is greatest in the area of economic and social conditions categories, again reflecting the type of contact of most officers with Native peoples. In both of these areas, a considerable majority indicate "Good" or "Very Good" current knowledge compared with about 30 percent in the other four categories.

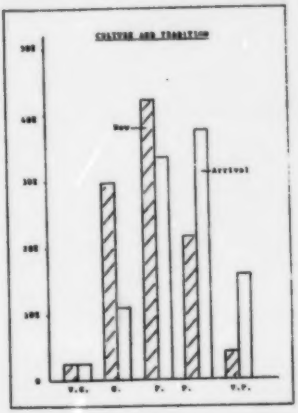
Similarly, Special Constables also cite a marked increase in their knowledge in all six categories. The least change, and smallest percentage indicating "Very Good" or "Good", is in the area of "Relations with Government"; the most remote from the community and probably the least apparent to a police officer.

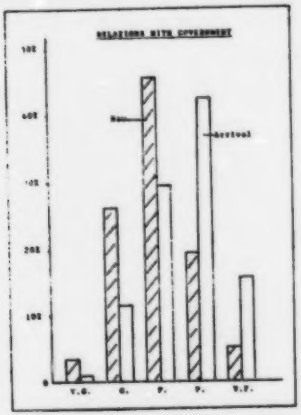
Overall, these data show that knowledge about important facets of a segment of the community is, for most Regular Members, not very good when they arrive. This is not too surprising and many indicate they learn quite a bit more about the Native community, several dimensions in particular, over the time they are there. Would broader knowledge, acquired more quickly, improve an officers' efficiency and effectiveness? If so, how might this be acquired?

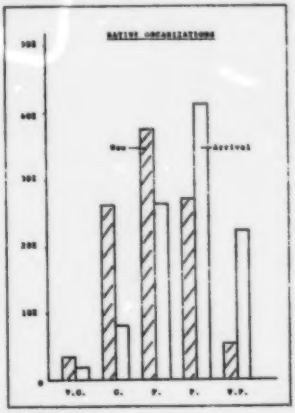
FIGURE 1

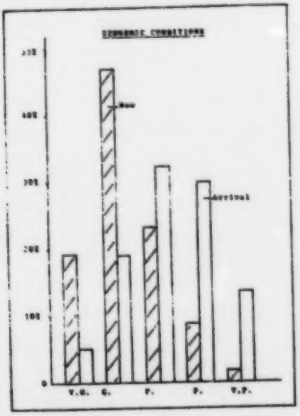
A Comparison of Regular Members' Self-Assessment of Their Knowledge of Native People in the Detachment Area When They First Arrived and at the Present (N=222)











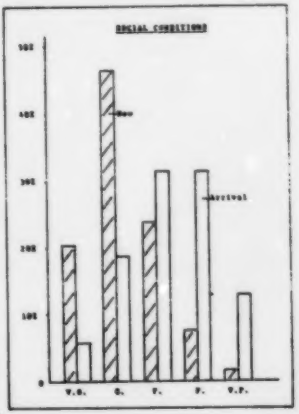
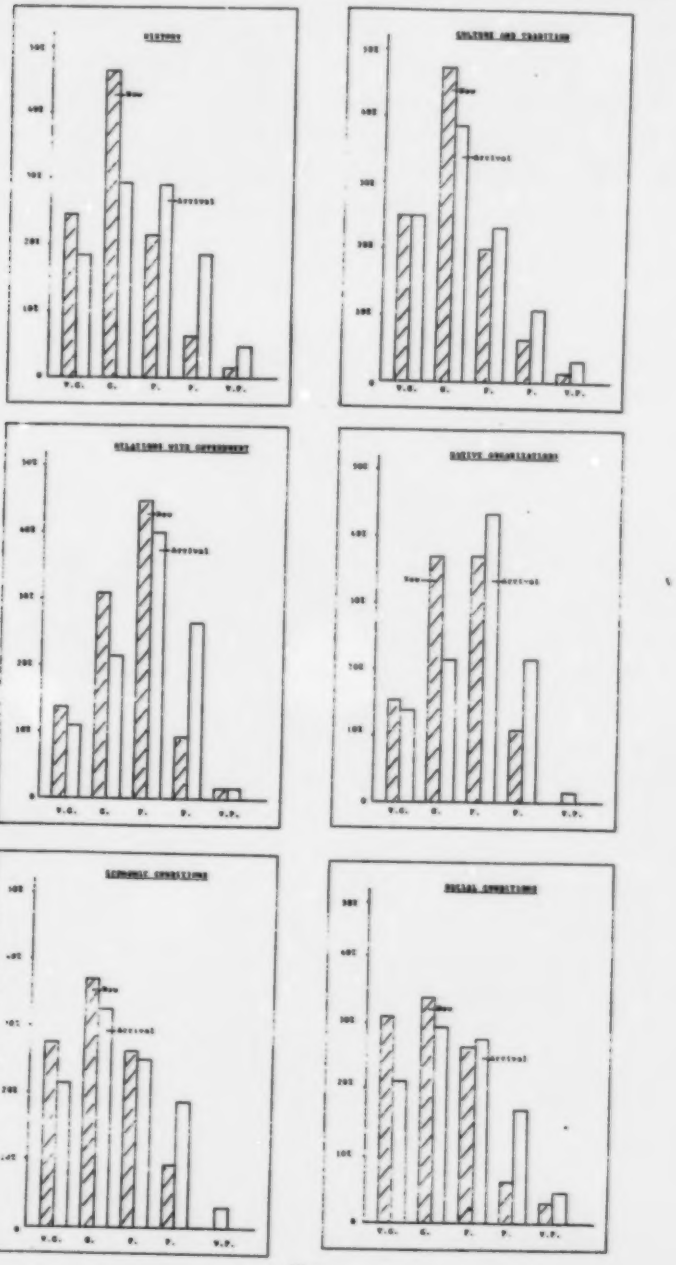


FIGURE 2

A Comparison of Special Constables' Self-Assessment of Their Knowledge of Native People in the Detachment Area When They First Arrived and at the Present (N=65)



To assess officers' perceptions of this issue, respondents were asked, in retrospect, whether more specific information about Native people in the detachment area, at the time of arrival, would have helped in their police work.

TABLE 6

A Comparison of Regular Members' and Special Constables' Assessment of the Usefulness, to Them, of Prior Knowledge of the Native Community

	Quite a Bit	Somewhat	Not Much	Not at All	
Regular Member (N=217)	12.4	24.9	47.9	14.7	100%
Special Constable (N=64)	18.2	21.2	33.3	24.2	100%

Although a majority of both groups indicate marginal or no use for such information, it is interesting that about Members consider that it would have been useful, either "Somewhat" or "Quite a bit"), especially since many Special Constables are located in their home communities, presumably making their need for prior information much less. The written elaborations shed some light on these responses. [The quotations cited below, and elsewhere, are as written.]

Most Regular Members who answered "Quite a bit" or "Somewhat" stress presumed operational benefits of such knowledge, although some mention broader aspects of community interaction.

> An increased knowledge of the specific way of life and values of the reserve encountered would be of assistance as an investigational aid. Many of the residents value their privacy and do not have much use for police unless they require their assistance. An understanding of this attitude is important when dealing with such individuals.

> Without some knowledge of the aspirations and goals of Native peoples, it is difficult to understand their frustrations and the effects of external intervention by government, and more specifically by the police.

The following remarks are typical of Regular Members who see little or no value to such information.

> Basically knowledge of Natives is of no real use in police work. You treat all people the same. Whether they are Native or not. Why should we know more about Natives than Whites.

> I am not interested to know any more than I have to about Natives, they are all the same. They use our money to live and then laugh at us. They have no incentive to work. They feel everything is owed to them.

Comments from Special Constables who felt prior knowledge would be useful illustrate a perception of cultural differences and the need to understand them.

> Even though they were Cree Indian, they would have not been the same as what the conditions I was used to. Each area has unique or different thoughts as to what they should do, and how to live.

> Every Native area you get posted to is always different from other Native reserves, all have different living styles depending on industry if near by, towns.

Forty-one percent of those who have taken university courses consider that prior knowledge would have helped them either "Quite a bit" or "Somewhat" compared to 35 percent of those with no university courses. Almost twice the percentage of the latter group consider that such knowledge would have helped them "Not at all" (17% and 10% respectively).

All Special Constables and 90 percent of Regular Members have had some in-service "multi-cultural" training although for over half this consists only of that provided during recruit training.

About a third of the latter, and half of the former, have taken the Force's Cross-Cultural course. Thirty-two Regular Members indicate taking an external course or seminar dealing with multiculturalism or Native people, with university courses in Sociology, Psychology and Minority Relations generally being considered "Useful" or "Very Useful".

INTERACTION - THE POLICING PROCESS

The Framework: [Only those respondents having contact with Native people are considered, unless otherwise indicated.] Almost 80 percent of the R.M.'s are in detachments with less than 50 percent Native population 42 percent having 10 percent or less. Special Constables are stationed in areas with proportionally larger Native populations; their figures for these categories being 61, and 16 percent respectively. Almost one third of the R.M.'s, and 5 percent of Special Constables have no reserves in their detachment area. Of the rest, over half of each group (63% and 54% respectively) report that more than 70 percent of the Native people live on a reserve, thirty percent of each group indicating 90-100 percent. The residence of the off-reserve Native population is shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

Regular Members' Report of the Location of Off-Reserve Native Population in the Detachment Area (N=191)

Location	Percent
Large City	6.8
Small City or Town	41.4
Small Community (Mainly Non-Native)	25.1
Small Community (Mainly Native)	24.1
Other[1]	2.6
Total	100 %

1 - All those indicating "other" refer to a small, scattered, rural Native population in the detachment area.

Detachments are responsible for up to seven reserves although nearly half are responsible for only one reserve and about 90 percent for three or less. Seventy percent of these detachments have only one other, non-reserve Native community. While some of the non-reserve Native communities are Metis settlements, most are

small pockets of Indians and/or Metis living in towns and villages. Reserves tend to be somewhat farther from detachments than non-reserve communities; over 40 percent of the respondents report that the average distance to reserves from the detachment H.Q. is 25 kms or less, just over 60 percent in the case of non-reserve Native communities.

Dealings with Natives and Non-Natives: In few, if any detachments does all police work, law enforcement or service/peacekeeping, involve solely Natives or non-Natives. Fifty-seven percent of the Regular Members and 36 percent of the Special Constables report a significant difference in their interaction with Natives and non-Natives. Members were asked to list and rank order the three most important areas of difference (see Table 8). Statements have been coded according to whether they indicated a perception of positive or negative attitudinal and cultural characteristics and any references to particular behavioural patterns vis-a-vis police and law enforcement.

TABLE 8
Percentage of Regular Members Indicating Differences in Their Dealings with Natives and Non-Natives, Ranked by Importance

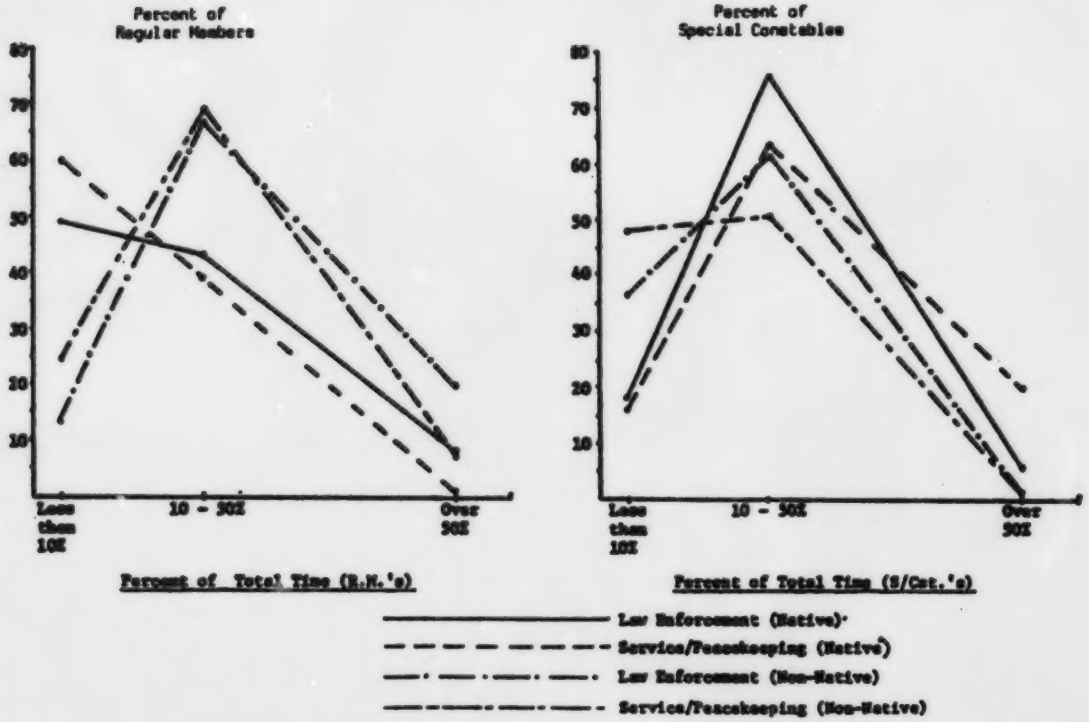
Category of Difference	First Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important
	N=117	N=98	N=77
Attitude - Positive (Natives' attitude toward the law more cooperative, etc.)	8.5	12.2	7.8
Attitude - Negative (Natives' - less favourable attitude toward law and police, more hostile, etc.)	10.3	8.2	10.4
Cultural - Positive (Natives more friendly, open, honest, cooperative - with cultural reference)	24.8	17.3	14.3
Cultural - Negative (Natives - less considerate of	3.4	6.1	6.5

others, of property, etc., - with cultural reference)			
Behavioural - Alcohol (Natives - more frequently involved with alcohol - related offences)	13.7	9.2	5.2
Behavioural - Violence (Natives - more often violent, violent offences)	8.5	14.3	10.4
Operational (general indication of different offences)	7.7	5.1	7.8
Economic (Natives poorer - offences related to economic needs)	0.0	0.0	2.6
Other (indeterminate or non-codable response)	23.1	27.6	35.1
Total	100%	100%	100%

Of interest is the relatively large proportion of members who made positive statements about Native culture and attitudes in comparison with non-Natives. Given the often-heard comments about Natives and alcohol, and the "statistics" in this regard, it is somewhat surprising that this does not loom larger as a significant difference between Natives and non-Natives. Perhaps alcohol--related offences are also a major part of police work with the latter as well, but without the associated stereotypes. Few Special Constables answered this question.

FIGURE 3

Reported Time Spent by Officers in Law Enforcement and Service/Peacekeeping Activity With Either Natives or Non-Natives



The Law Enforcement - Service Continuum: Both law enforcement and service functions are a part of the police role in any community and various demands and expectations for each will be made by different segments of the community. To ascertain if differences in service to Natives and non-Natives are perceived by those providing the services, members were asked to indicate how their contact with citizens in the previous month was apportioned. The resulting picture of police activity in both communities is summarized in Figure 3.

There are some marked differences at the lower and upper ends of the contact continuum. For example, over 8 times as many R.M.s indicate a high rate of law enforcement as opposed to service/peacekeeping contact with Natives, dropping to under 3 times the rate when considering non-Native contact. The Special Constable data show a rather different work pattern with more emphasis on the service/peacekeeping role with Natives in particular, and more involvement with Natives on the whole. No significant correlation was found between these police functions, demographic factors such as the population served by the detachment, the distance to a non-Native population centre, or the relative affluence of Native people in the area.

Reported Law Enforcement Activity: The measurement ofpolice activity is the subject of much debate, the general consensus being that most existing measures are at best rather gross indicators. The reliance upon "output" statistics; clearance rates, arrests, and charges poses problems; problems inherent in the observation and decision-making processes related to police activity.[21,7] However, as long as their limitations are kept in mind, they can be useful indicators. Officers were asked to indicate as precisely as possible their involvement, via charges in the previous month. (Table 9)

TABLE 9
Officers' Involvement with Offences in the Previous Month
(TOTAL SAMPLE)

Category[1]		Regular Members (N=344) Native	Regular Members (N=344) Non-Native	Special Constables (N=66) Native	Special Constables (N=66) Non-Native
Crimes of Violence	1	25 (7.3%)	55 (16.0%)	11 (16.7%)	7 (10.6%)
	1	72 (20.9%)	76 (22.1%)	30 (45.4%)	11 (16.7%)
	T	97 (28.2%)	131 (38.1%)	41 (62.1%)	18 (27.3%)
Property Crimes	1	28 (8.1%)	28 (8.1%)	10 (15.2%)	7 (10.6%)
	1	113 (32.8%)	162 (47.1%)	42 (63.6%)	20 (30.3%)
	T	141 (40.9%)	190 (55.2%)	52 (78.8%)	27 (40.9%)
Other Criminal Code	1	28 (8.1%)	44 (12.8%)	15 (22.7%)	12 (18.2%)
	1	79 (23.0%)	148 (43.0%)	25 (37.9%)	15 (22.7%)
	T	107 (31.1%)	192 (55.8%)	40 (60.6%)	27 (40.9%)
Criminal Code (Total)	1-2	32 (9.3%)	64 (18.6%)	5 (7.6 %)	12 (18.2%)
	2	127 (36.9%)	196 (57.0%)	52 (78.8%)	26 (39.4%)
	T	159 (46.2%)	260 (75.6%)	57 (86.4%)	38 (57.6%)
Provincial Statutes	1-2	42 (12.2%)	23 (6.7%)	11 (16.7%)	11 (16.7%)
	2	89 (25.9%)	217 (63.1%)	28 (42.4%)	31 (47.0%)
	T	131 (38.1%)	240 (69.8%)	39 (59.1%)	42 (63.6%)
Total Non-Criminal Code	1-2	45 (13.1%)	26 (7.6%)	11 (16.7%)	9 (13.6%)
	2	99 (28.8%)	232 (67.4%)	35 (53.0%)	34 (51.5%)
	T	144 (41.9%)	258 (75.0%)	46 (69.7%)	43 (65.2%)
All Offences	1-3	31 (9.0 %)	23 (6.7%)	7 (10.6%)	11 (16.7%)
	3	150 (43.6%)	263 (76.5%)	53 (80.3%)	36 (54.5%)
	T	181 (52.6%)	286 (83.1%)	60 (90.9%)	47 (71.2%)

[1] Based on data from detailed U.C.R. categories. Each category is separate; the percentages are of the total N of R.M.'s or S/Cst.'s. For example, 9.3% of R.M.'s report 1 or 2 instances of any Criminal Code involvement, and 36.9% report more than 2 such occurrences, with Native people. Comparable figures for S/Cst.'s are 7.6% and 78.8 respectively.

Comparison of officer involvement with Natives and nonNatives within categories is informative. Over 52 percent of the total sample of Regular Members in the three provinces report some involvement with charges of Native people in the previous month while about 83 percent were similarly involved with non-Natives. Forty-four percent of all members report being involved with 3 or more "Native" charges and 77 percent with 3 or more "non-Native" charges. The explanation for these differences may lie in part in the proportion that involve traffic act offences.

If these reports can be regarded as reasonably reliable, the Native people of the Prairie population occupy the police, generally, out of all proportion to their numbers. [Sampling procedures ensure that there is little possible duplication of reports by R.M.s. However, the same cannot be said for S/Cst. data which, accordingly, are excluded from explicit discussion here.] For example, although 38 percent of the total sample of Regular Members dealt with at least one violent crime among non-Native people, almost 28 percent dealt with a Native violent crime in the same one month period. The responses of Regular Members with some contact with Native people and Special Constables are presented in Table 10. A considerably higher reporting of crimes of violence, somewhat greater with respect to property crimes and a very similar pattern of other criminal code offences involving Natives when compared to non-Natives is noted.

Native - Non-Native Relations: Policing in any location does not occur in isolation from the broader processes of social interaction at individual and institutional levels. The relationships between Native and non-Native people in a given area, based on historical, economic, demographic, political

TABLE 10
Officers' Involvement with Offences in the Previous Month
(NATIVE CONTACT SAMPLE ONLY)

Category[2]		Regular Members (N=222) Native	Regular Members (N=222) Non-Native	Special Constables (N=66) Native	Special Constables (N=66) Non-Native
Crimes of Violence	1	25 (11.3%)	33 (14.9%)	11 (16.7%)	7 (10.6%)
	1	72 (32.4%)	46 (20.7%)	30 (45.4%)	11 (16.7%)
	T	97 (43.7%)	79 (35.6%)	41 (62.1%)	18 (27.3%)
Property Crimes	1	28 (12.6%)	20 (9.0%)	10 (15.2%)	7 (10.6%)
	1	113 (50.9%)	103 (46.4%)	42 (63.6%)	20 (30.3%)
	T	141 (63.5%)	123 (55.4%)	52 (78.8%)	27 (40.9%)
Other	1	28 (8.1%)	30 (13.5%)	15 (22.7%)	12 (18.2%)
Criminal Code	1	79 (35.6%)	84 (37.8%)	25 (37.9%)	15 (22.7%)
	T	107 (48.2%)	114 (51.3%)	40 (60.6%)	27 (40.9%)
Criminal (Total)	1-2	32 (14.4%)	46 (20.7%)	5 (7.6 %)	12 (18.2%)Code
	2	127 (57.2%)	118 (53.2%)	52 (78.8%)	26 (39.4%)
	T	159 (71.6%)	164 (73.9%)	57 (86.4%)	38 (57.6%)
Provin-cial Statutes	1-2	42 (18.9%)	21 (9.5%)	11 (16.7%)	11 (16.7%)
	2	89 (40.1%)	122 (55.0%)	28 (42.4%)	31 (47.0%)
	T	131 (59.0%)	143 (64.5%)	39 (59.1%)	42 (63.6%)
Total Non-Criminal Code	1-2	45 (20.3%)	21 (9.5%)	11 (16.7%)	9 (13.6%)
	2	99 (44.6%)	136 (61.3%)	35 (53.0%)	34 (51.5%)
	T	144 (64.9%)	157 (70.8%)	46 (69.7%)	43 (65.2%)
All Offences	1-3	31 (14.0%)	19 (8.6%)	7 (10.6%)	11 (16.7%)
	3	150 (67.6%)	162 (73.0%)	53 (80.3%)	36 (54.5%)
	T	181 (81.6%)	181 (81.6%)	60 (90.9%)	47 (71.2%)

[1] Based on data from detailed U.C.R. categories. Each category is separate; the percentages are of the total N of R.M.'s on S/Cst.'s. For example, 9.3% of R.M.'s report 1 or 2 instances of any Criminal Code involvement, and 36.9% report more than 2 such occurrences, with Native people. Comparable figures for S/Cst.'s are 7.6% and 78.8 respectively.

and similar factors, is of possible importance in this context. Table 11 summarizes officers' perception of the general state of relations between Natives and non-Natives in their area.

TABLE 11

A Comparison of Regular Members' and Special Constables' Perception of the General State of Native - Non-Native Relations In Their Detachment Area

	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	
Regular Members (N=219)	3.7%	33.8%	42.9%	17.8%	1.8%	100%
Special Constables (N=63)	11.1%	34.9%	38.1%	14.3%	1.6%	100%

This is interesting in that, on the whole, Special Constables perceive that a rather better relationship exists between Natives and non-Natives than do Regular Members. Response was not affected by variables such as rank, age, size of detachment, population, or the percentage of Natives in the detachment area.

One hundred and forty Regular Members and 49 Special Constables responded briefly to a request for elaboration on this question. Among R.M.s, comments indicating mutual tolerance, or little interaction between Natives and non-Natives are the two most frequent, followed by citations of non-Native prejudice and discrimination. Special Constables also mention mutual tolerance most frequently but statements of non-Native prejudice and discrimination are second and little interaction is third. Some representative comments follow, with the general perspective of the officer noted.

Regular Members

Very Good Relations.

The Natives and non-Natives that live in town participate in most sports together and attend social functions in conjunction. As far as police related problems, there has been nothing to indicate a problem between the two.

Good Relations.

Generally speaking those people who live and work in close proximity to the Natives have done so for a very long time; between Natives and non-Natives occur in the urban area when persons not normally in close contact with Natives come into contact. Brief encounters result in more clashes than encounters between the two groups on a continuous basis.

Fair Relations.

Generally there is a tolerance between the two groups. Very little open hostility is observed. However there is very little social mixing of the two groups.

The local non-Natives live off the Natives. The Natives have money from treaty and royalties from gas and support this area, especially the bars during the winter when agriculture is non-existent. The money from Natives supports car dealers, food stores etc. [The economic symbiosis is interesting and was noted in the field research as well.]

Poor Relations.

Whites and Natives don't socialize hardly at all in this area. Whites look down on Natives because they drink too much and don't appear to work. The Whites seldom see the sober hard working Natives. The Natives don't trust the Whites. Whites and Natives in this area really don't know much about each other. The Mounted Police often appear to be the heavies, when really we are the few Whites who care if they live or die.

Special Constables

Good Relations.

There are some Natives who are prejudiced towards Whites and

vice-versa. People who are not prejudiced get along quite well. They participate in sports etc. They just don't socialize together.

Fair Relations.

There are four towns in the detachment area and two reserves. One town seems to be a prejudiced town and one town accepts the people from the reserve as they are what keeps the town alive, business-wise. [The economic symbiosis is again apparent.]

I found out that the people here are prejudiced toward the Natives. I also learned a lot of the local Natives, once they have tried to reach a goal, all they received was being called down by non-Natives. I believe that in some places today, Natives are still looked at from the past of the years 1800 to 1900. In this respect, Natives are put down, not given a chance to prove themselves.

Poor Relations.

Non-Natives always think that they are always better than Natives, which is not true.

Very Poor Relations.

I never see the Native and non-Native speaking together very much.

This last comment seems, in its very simplicity, to go to the heart of the problem. The data available point to no general set of factors influencing the relationship between Natives and non-Natives. Such relations, and the perception of them by police officers, appear to be a function of personal and situational factors.

Major Areas of Difficulty: Using categories developed in a pre-test, respondents ranked the most frequently encountered areas of difficulty in dealing with Native and non-Native communities. (Table 12) The large number of R.M.s citing differences in cul-

tural values in the Native community is not surprising although a substantial number also encounter the same phenomenon in the non-Native community. Mistrust of outsiders, "government", is about the same in both communities and, although mistrust of the police is a fairly major problem, it is considered moreso in dealing with the non-Native community. Interestingly, problems with young people are regarded as considerably greater in the non-Native community.

Special Constables indicate fewer of the large differences between Native and non-Native communities noted by Regular Members. Language and cultural value-related difficulties are considered important factors in their dealings with both communities, as is mistrust of outsiders. Problems linked to unemployment, especially in the Native community, and the problems with young people, are important factors as well.

Table 12 shows both similarities and differences in the perceptions Regular Members and Special Constables have of problem areas in policing the community. Aside from the dimensions already mentioned, mistrust of the police is seen by both samples as being more of a problem in the non-Native community, especially by S/Cst.'s, perhaps reflecting problems encountered by these officers in their dealings with non-Native citizens. In the Native community more NCO's than Constables (49% and 31% respectively) ranked cultural differences first , an order reversed (10% and 18%) with respect to problems related to unemployment. In the non-Native community, mistrust of outsiders, "government", is ranked first by 15 percent of NCO's compared to 7 percent of the Constables and mistrust of police first by 19 percent of the Constables and only 3 percent of NCO's.

The proportion ranking cultural values and mistrust of non-Natives and "government" declines markedly from large to small populations; a pattern reversed with respect to problems linked to unemployment. Mistrust of the police in both communities is ranked first in the mid-size areas followed by large and small,

TABLE 12

A Comparison of the Most Important Areas of Difficulty Experienced by Officers in Native and Non-Native Communities

	Native Community		Non-Native Community	
	Regular Member (N=217)	Special Constable (N=59)	Regular Member (N=209)	Special Constable (N=58)
Language and Communication Differences	4.1	16.9	2.4	8.6
Differences in Cultural Values and Outlook on Life	34.1	16.9	12.9	17.2
Mistrust of Non-Natives (Outsiders) Especially "Government"	5.5	6.8	8.1	6.9
(Native) Mistrust of Police	10.1	8.5	15.3	25.9
Dealing with Community Leaders	1.4	5.1	3.3	0.0
Dealing with Native (Community) Organizations	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.7
Disruptions from the External Society	1.8	1.7	2.9	6.9
Dealing with Young People	12.0	20.3	35.4	24.1
Problems Linked to High Unemployment	17.1	16.9	11.0	6.9
Other	13.8	6.8	6.7	1.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

while unemployment is as most problematic in the large and small population areas. Officers at more remote detachments see mistrust of government, problems with youth and mistrust of the police as somewhat less important factors in the Native community than those at less isolated postings; an order reversed with respect to the non-Native community. Mistrust of the police is ranked first in areas with greatest reported numbers of Natives receiving social assistance, and declines in importance as this number declines.

Native Perception of the Police: How people view the others is an important part of any interaction process and perhaps of equal or even greater importance is the perception of these views by the party being viewed. An examination of these perceptions, and the factors attributed as causal, provides insights into the overall interaction process. The literature commonly suggests that the public holds the police in higher regard than the police believe. Respondents were asked to indicate how they believe Native people in their area view the police and to list what they consider to be the main reasons.

The extent that Special Constables are much closer to the Native community than Regular Members, and have a broader range of interaction with community members, their perception will more accurately reflect true community feelings. Although about half of both samples perceive an indifferent view of the police by Native people, 42 percent of Special Constables compared with 33 percent of Regular Members perceive "Very Positive" or "Positive" views and correspondingly fewer see Native views as "Negative" or

TABLE 13

The Most Important Reason Cited by Officers for Their Perception of the Native View of Police

	Regular Members (N = 197)	Special Constables (N = 60)
Culture and Socialization (role models, assimilation, historical relationships)[2]	29.5	18.3
Police fair/friendly	15.2	5.0
Little or No Contact or Interaction (Service)	2.5	5.0
Communication Problems (language, live in separate locales)	3.0	8.3
Police Insensitive (indifferent, not understanding)	3.6	1.7
Militant Influences (outside influences)	2.5	0.0
Police Agents of Government (resented, treat Natives unfairly)	13.7	18.3
Public Relations Programs and/or Native Special Constable Program	2.0	13.3
Other [1]	31.5	30.0
	100%	100%

1 The vast majority of those in this "other" category are one or two word answers that provide insufficient information for coding.

2 This category has both positive and negative connotations. A positive perception was generally linked to a "positive" aspect of culture or socialization and vice versa.

"Very Negative", (8% and 19% respectively). This supports the contention that the police may actually be viewed more favourably by the community than they believe they are, a phenomenon also observed during field work.

There is a significant association between rank and perception; NCO's indicating a more positive perceived view and Constables responding in a more negative manner. Only Constables, for example, consider that the Native viewpoint is "Very Negative". A more positive perception of the Native view of police is reported in detachments where fewer Natives receive social assistance.

Written responses have been coded into major categories derived from the data. (Table 13)

Culture and socialization factors are cited most frequently by Regular Members, and mainly linked to a perception of Native indifference. While a high percentage of R.M.'s think the reason for a "Positive" or "Very Positive" view of the police is that the police are seen as fair and/or friendly, it is obvious that Special Constables differed in this regard. Special Constables mention communication problems more frequently, often associating this with a perception of Native indifference. Public relations is mentioned much more frequently by Special Constables than by Regular Members as a reason for a particular perceived opinion, generally positive. Some of the differences in perception, and in emphasis, may be seen in the following comments. The general perception of each respondent is noted.

Regular Members

They hear negatives from parents and teenagers as the young grow up. The young watch the police come and go and each time it involves the arrest and escort of their relations. As with non-Native groups the police are viewed as establishment tool keeping them down. (negative)

Most are drunks. Most have relatives in jail. Most would rather handle it themselves. (very negative)

They feel that the police are picking on them as opposed to the White community. At present they feel that the government is shafting them and they see the police as part of the government. (indifference)

Non-Native police have difficulty in understanding Natives, therefore Natives mistrust police. (indifference)

By a concerted personal effort to get to know the Natives by all members of this detachment. Beyond our duty requirements. By enforcing the law with a great deal of fairness and often discretion. (positive)

Special Constables

Probably don't like to see a white person coming on their reserve and bossing them around or otherwise charging them. Because to me, the Indian people feel that since they were first people in what is now called Canada, they should not be bothered. (negative)

Some police officers treat the Native people different from other police officers. The Native people get along well with the police officers that treat them well. There are some police officers who screw up the relationships between the police and Native people. (indifference)

Some police do not take action on Native complaints. Some police do not give Native people time to explain circumstances. Some police do not like to talk with Native people about their problems. (indifference)

Language and communication differences. Regular members could not understand anything (language). Members coming to this area are working with Natives for the first time in their lives. Arrogance of some members in the past and present towards Native people in general and Natives immediately know this.
(indifference)

In my area, contact with police was almost nil until the Native police program came into effect. All members of the communities can now communicate in their language with police, old and young alike. (positive)

PERCEPTIONS OF THE NATIVE COMMUNITY

The perceptions that police officers have of a community, and of particular dimensions of that community may have an impact of some magnitude on the delivery of policing services. As trained observers, they are in a good position to note major dimensions of the community although the degree to which they are able, are allowed, or even wish to make such observations depends on a combination of individual, organizational, and circumstantial factors. It is important to note that the individual's role as a police officer, and the associated status in the community, impinges not only on his or her perception of the community but also on what the community permits him or her to observe. By virtue of differing cultural background and the accompanying socialization processes, for example, obvious differences of perception between Regular Members and Special Constables are to be expected with magnitude varying from one dimension to another. To carry this one step further, by virtue of some common training experience, these differences in perception will be of lesser magnitude on many dimensions than that which might be anticipated between police officers and a community leader.

Respondents considered a series of statements, indicating how characteristic each is of the Native community they police: four statements on interaction, twelve on organizational and structural dimensions, and fifteen on socio-cultural variables.

Interaction

The four statements, few because of the attention paid to this critical aspect of Police-Native Community relations elsewhere, deal mainly with relations between the community and the police.

TABLE 14

POLICE OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE NATIVE COMMUNITY - INTERACTION DIMENSIONS

	REGULAR MEMBERS					SPECIAL CONSTABLES				
	1 Very Characteristic	2	3	4	5 Not At All Characteristic	1 Very Characteristic	2	3	4	5 Not At All Characteristic
1. There is good co-operation between the police and the community	(N=210) 4.3	22.9	43.3	23.3	6.2	(N=65) 9.2	33.8	33.8	20.0	3.1
2. There is good liaison between the community leaders and the police *	(N=208) 10.6	27.4	41.8	13.9	6.3	(N=65) 27.7	30.8	27.7	13.8	0.0
3. People are not reluctant to call the police for assistance	(N=210) 28.4	29.4	25.1	10.0	7.1	(N=65) 36.9	27.7	24.6	9.2	1.5
4. Many people regularly visit the closest largely non-Native Community	(N=211) 37.6	30.5	17.6	7.6	6.7	(N=65) 27.7	27.7	24.6	9.2	10.8

* (Significant differences between R.M. and S/Cst. responses, $p < .01$)

On the three statements dealing with police-community relations (1, 2, 3), Special Constables are generally more positive than Regular Members. That is, a larger percentage see the statements as being very characteristic or characteristic. As responses to statements 1 and 2 indicate, the former perceive police community relations to be considerably more favourable than the latter.

As with the previous discussion, these data also support the contention that Regular Members consider police-community relations to be worse than they actually are, or are perceived to be by the community. This is almost certainly due, in large measure, to the limited police role and narrow interaction of many officers with the Native community. N.C.O.'s are more likely to see good liaison between police and Native leaders as being characteristic or very characteristic than Constables, probably reflecting the nature of their duties but with possible impact on their work.

Socio-Cultural Factors

These statements were intended to determine officers' perception of the strength of community cultural values, some aspects of acculturation, and so on. Again, the responses of the Special Constables are useful in a comparative manner in that they are closer to the community, have broader social contacts and are more knowledgeable about Native culture; Regular Members tending to have a less varied interaction pattern with the Native community, focused primarily around their law enforcement function. This may certainly colour their perceptions and restrict their knowledge of some facets of the community, as was confirmed during field work.

Differences are most striking in the responses to statements describing cultural facets, in all of which the Special Constables regard the statement as being much more characteristic of the Native community than Regular Members. Over 55 percent of the former compared to less than 20 percent of the latter thought, for example, that a strong family structure was characteristic or very

TABLE 15

POLICE OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE NATIVE COMMUNITY - SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

	REGULAR MEMBERS					SPECIAL CONSTABLES				
	1 Very Charac-teristic	2	3	4	5 Not At All Charac-teristic	1 Very Charac-teristic	2	3	4	5 Not At All Charac-teristic
1. The Community tends to work together *	(N=212) 5.2	11.8	29.7	32.5	20.8	(N=65) 7.7	23.1	43.1	13.8	12.3
2. The family structure is strong *	(N=211) 5.2	14.2	24.6	33.6	22.3	(N=65) 23.1	32.3	26.2	15.4	3.1
3. Community members tend to help each other *	(N=209) 2.4	16.3	42.1	29.2	10.0	(N=65) 18.5	18.5	36.9	20.0	6.2
4. Education is seen as important *	(N=211) 0.5	9.0	17.5	40.8	32.2	(N=65) 12.3	20.0	33.8	18.5	15.4
5. The people in the community are generally law-abiding	(N=210) 2.4	21.0	37.1	25.2	14.3	(N=64) 6.3	23.4	46.9	17.2	6.3
6. Most people in the community are hard-working *	(N=210) 1.0	12.9	28.6	33.8	23.8	(N=65) 7.7	24.6	33.8	21.5	12.3
7. The Native Language is spoken by most adults *	(N=210) 29.0	20.5	21.0	14.8	14.8	(N=65) 66.2	16.9	6.2	4.6	6.2
8. The Native Language is being learned by most children *	(N=210) 14.3	16.7	27.6	21.0	20.5	(N=65) 32.3	23.1	21.5	12.3	10.8
9. Children are actively taught traditional culture *	(N=209) 1.9	14.4	34.6	32.1	17.2	(N=65) 20.0	27.7	24.6	15.4	12.3
10. People seem reluctant to take social assistance *	(N=210) 0.5	3.3	10.0	29.5	56.7	(N=64) 9.4	9.4	26.6	34.4	20.3
11. Elderly people are held in high esteem*	(N=209) 6.7	20.6	31.6	27.8	13.4	(N=65) 32.3	21.5	26.2	15.4	4.6
12. People commonly share what they have with others	(N=210) 6.7	23.8	36.2	20.5	12.9	(N=64) 7.8	25.0	35.9	23.4	7.8
13. There is little alcohol abuse in the community *	(N=208) 2.4	3.4	4.3	15.9	74.0	(N=65) 13.8	3.1	15.4	15.4	52.3
14. There is generally strong support for the Chief or leadership *	(N=202) 3.5	22.8	39.1	24.3	10.4	(N=64) 20.3	28.1	32.8	12.5	6.3
15. People in the community like to handle most of their own problems	(N=212) 10.4	28.8	35.8	16.0	9.0	(N=65) 16.9	26.2	33.8	20.0	3.1

* (Significant differences between R.M. and S/Cst. responses, $p < .01$)

characteristic of their community. Similar proportional differences are noted with respect to community self help, the use of the Native language by adults, the learning of the Native language by children, the active teaching of traditional culture to children and the esteem given to the elderly in the community.

Statements about other facets of the community show a similar pattern, although not as pronounced. For example, about twice the percentage of Special Constables as Regular Members indicate that "education is seen as important" and "strong community support for the chief or leadership" are characteristic or very characteristic. On other statements, (eg. 1, 5, 12 and 15), about aspects of the community which are more easily observable as part of the law enforcement function of policing, Regular Members' and Special Constables' conceptions are much closer. In each case however, the latter view the community more positively.

Differences of definition may of course enter into the respondents' perceptions as a result of prior socialization and experiences. This can be seen in Statement 6 in particular - "Most people in the community are hard working". The difference here (32 percent of the Special Constables and 14 percent of the Regular Members saying this is characteristic or very characteristic) may be due to different, culturally-linked, definitions of work. As was substantiated in the field work, non-Native officers generally define work as regular, wage work. Special Constables on the other hand define work much more broadly in the Native community, incorporating many more activities. The extension of this to a definition of who is a "worker" and who is not, is easy and one which may have considerable impact upon policing.

Organizational-Structural Factors

Generally speaking, Special Constables again are more favorable in their assessment of these dimensions of the community than are Regular Members. The magnitude of difference between the two groups varies, depending on the statement.

TABLE 16

POLICE OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE NATIVE COMMUNITY - ORGANIZATIONAL-STRUCTURAL DIMENSIONS

	REGULAR MEMBERS					SPECIAL CONSTABLES				
	1 Very Charac-teristic	2	3	4	5 Not At All Charac-teristic	1 Very Charac-teristic	2	3	4	5 Not At All Charac-teristic
1. The Community is actively involved in issues of Native rights, land claims, etc. *	(N=211) 5.7	14.2	25.1	32.2	22.7	(N=65) 49.2	20.0	15.4	12.3	3.1
2. The community has an active recreational program	(N=210) 5.2	15.2	29.5	23.8	26.2	(N=65) 15.4	20.0	33.8	15.4	15.4
3. The school is well regarded *	(N=204) 1.5	15.7	27.0	29.9	26.0	(N=65) 21.5	26.2	35.4	15.4	1.5
4. There are locally run organizations to assist those in need	(N=207) 7.7	20.8	30.4	26.6	14.5	(N=64) 14.1	15.6	25.0	21.9	23.4
5. There are community sponsored activities for youth - well attended	(N=210) 1.4	6.2	28.6	31.4	32.4	(N=65) 4.7	12.5	39.1	26.6	17.2
6. Native community workers are active in the community	(N=210) 3.3	11.4	36.2	33.3	15.7	(N=65) 7.7	20.0	41.5	21.5	9.2
7. Community administration is primarily by Native people	(N=207) 23.2	30.9	17.9	9.2	18.8	(N=65) 41.5	30.8	15.4	7.7	4.6
8. The Community Leadership is strong (Chief, council, etc.)*	(N=205) 9.3	26.3	29.3	21.5	13.7	(N=65) 26.2	33.8	26.2	9.2	4.6
9. Most people in the community are in about the same financial position	(N=210) 16.7	32.9	30.0	14.8	5.7	(N=64) 14.1	21.9	31.3	21.9	10.9
10. The community administration is well organized and well run	(N=208) 1.4	13.5	37.5	31.7	15.9	(N=65) 7.7	12.3	44.6	26.2	9.2
11. The community has a fairly stable economic base	(N=208) 3.8	13.0	28.8	29.8	24.5	(N=65) 4.6	18.5	29.2	26.2	21.5
12. Wage work is available locally for those who want it.*	(N=211) 11.8	32.2	28.4	19.9	7.6	(N=65) 6.2	15.4	21.5	27.7	29.2

* (Significant differences between R.M. and S/Cst. responses, $p < .01$)

Regular Members and Special Constables are closest on (item 4) - "there are locally run organizations to assist those in need"; (item 10) - "The community administration is well organized and well run"; and (item 11) - "The community has a fairly stable economic base": facets of the community that police officers, non-Native officers especially, might be expected to encounter in the course of their work. Differences of perception, knowledge or perhaps understanding are evident to a considerable degree in several areas. For example, 69 percent of Special Constables, compared to 20 percent of Regular Members, say that "The community is actively involved in issues of Native rights, land claims, etc." was characteristic or very characteristic. Similar findings, although of somewhat lesser magnitude but still reflecting quite different perceptions of the community, are found in responses to statements concerned with "regard for the school"; "Native community workers"; and "the strength of community leadership". Although the wording allows for some variation in definition, the differences are nonetheless striking.

One dimension merits mention vis-a-vis perceptions being linked to differing socialization, values and definitions as in the previous discussion of socio-cultural facets. Forty-four percent of Regular Members compared to 22 percent of Special Constables, consider the statement "Wage work is available locally for those who want it" to be characteristic or very characteristic of their area. This shows markedly different perceptions held by R.M.'s and S/Cst.'s of the economic opportunities and life chances for Native people. The degree to which this, and other perceptions of the Native community are carried over into police activity is not known although, in general, we do know that people tend to act toward others according to their beliefs about them and their definition of the situation.

The Overall Picture

Two general indexes for the Socio-Cultural, and

Organizational-Structural dimensions have been constructed to provide pictures of officers' overall assessments.

A "1" indicates that, overall, statements were regarded as very characteristic and "5", not at all characteristic of the Native community. In the case of the Organizational-Structural index, the former may be construed as a perception of a relatively organized and integrated community with strong institutional structures: the latter a general perception of community disorganization. Table 17 strongly supports the conclusion in previous sections that Special Constables perceive the Native community considerably more positively than do Regular Members, although half of both groups are, in effect, neutral. When the two "positive" and two "negative" categories are combined, because of low frequencies in several cells, significance remains high.

TABLE 17

Cross-Tabulation of Respondents' Status and Organizational - Structural Index*

	Organizational - Structural Index					
Status	1	2	3	4	5	Total
REGULAR MEMBERS	0.0	9.5	49.5	36.7	4.3	100% (210)
SPECIAL CONSTABLES	6.2	23.1	49.2	18.5	3.1	100% (65)
TOTAL	1.5(4)	12.7(35)	49.5(136)	32.4(89)	4.0(11)	100% (275)

* Significant at better than .01 level

With respect to the Socio-Cultural Index (Table 18), a "1" indicates a perception of a Native community with a strong socio-cultural base and emphasis on traditional values and "Indianness"; g"5" a community in a state of social and cultural disintegration,

especially with respect to more traditional culture and values. Differences of perception of the Native community's organization and structure are heightened when Socio-Cultural facets are considered. Almost seven times the percentage of Special Constables had a "positive" index score (1 or 2) while at the "negative" end (4 or 5) the percentage of Regular Members is about four times as great. A combination of "positive" and "negative" categories, as previously, does not alter the significance of the relationship. In addition a very strong correlation is found for

TABLE 18

Cross-Tabulation of Respondents' Status and Socio-Cultural Index*

	Socio-Cultural Index					
Status	1	2	3	4	5	Total
REGULAR MEMBERS	0.0	4.8	38.1	48.1	9.0	100% (210)
SPECIAL CONSTABLES	3.1	30.8	52.5	13.8	0.0	100% (65)
TOTAL	0.7(2)	10.9(30)	41.5(114)	40.0(110)	6.9(19)	100% (275)

* Significant at better than .01 level

both Regular Members and Special Constables - persons who had "positive" scores on the Socio-Cultural index also tend to be "positive" on the Organizational-Structural index, and vice versa.

Several significant correlations are found between Organizational-Structural and Socio-Cultural indexes and ecological and demographic variables. In both cases, N.C.O.'s are much more likely to be positive than Constables or, conversely, much less inclined to be negative. Whether this is related to the duties attached to the position or to changing perceptions that come with greater experience is not known although both factors

are probably involved. There is also a significant relationship between the Organizational-Structural index and the percentage of Natives receiving social assistance: the greater the latter, the greater the likelihood of a negative index rating. Although not significant, respondents in areas with smaller percentages of Native people tend to be negative on both indexes and those in areas with larger percentages to be neutral. No significant relationship is found between either index and officers' time spent in law enforcement activity directed at Native peoples. However, a significant relationship does exist between time spent in service activities with Natives and the Socio-Cultural index, with a tendency for those reporting lower Native service-related contact to be positive or neutral and those with greater service contact to be negative. A relationship in the same direction, although not quite as strong, was found between the Organizational-Structural index and Native service contact.

Problems and Relationships - Officers' Perceptions

As part of the effort to determine how the Native community is perceived through the eyes of those responsible for policing it, respondents were asked to identify the issues or problems that seem to be of most concern to Native leaders in their area. Both Regular Members and Special Constables think that problems of "liquor and drugs", and "jobs and unemployment" are the first and second areas of concern. The former consider Native rights issues to be a very close third, (fifth by S/Csts.), a position accorded "education and schools" by Special Constables (seventh by R.M.s).

Officers were also asked what the police, (Table 19), and the Native community, (Table 20) might do to improve their relationship if it was "not as good as it might be". With the exception of categories with no Special Constable responses, the patterns are similar. Both groups mention "improvement in community relations" and "individual involvement in the Native community", as the most important areas for improvement by police. Interest-

TABLE 19

Officers' Perception of the Main Way in which the Police Can Improve Their Relationship with the Native Community

	REGULAR MEMBERS (N=175)	SPECIAL CONSTABLES (N=56)
Improve Community Relations - P.R. programs-informal means	27.4	39.3
Increase service contact (reduce law enforcement)	3.4	0.0
More active individual involvement - sports, social	21.2	33.9
Treat people as individuals avoid stereotypes etc.	10.1	5.4
Understand social and cultural differences	10.1	10.7
Do nothing - just do the job as it is	7.3	0.0
More Special Constables	7.3	0.0
Work more with young people	1.7	1.8
Other	11.7	8.9
Total	100%	100%

TABLE 20

Officers' Perception of the Main Way in which the Native Community Can Improve Its Relationship with the Police

	REGULAR MEMBERS (N=174)	SPECIAL CONSTABLES (N=58)
Integrate - get jobs leave reserves etc.	9.6	17.2
Deal with alcohol problem-stop drinking	11.2	12.1
Education	7.9	0.0
Assimilate-beliefs, attitudes	3.4	3.4
Self-help - be independent, don't rely on others, deal with own social problems	14.0	3.4
Broader perspectives on understanding of, and communication with, the Non-Native Society	9.6	10.3
Better knowledge of law and police	28.1	0.0
Develop own police - reserve, tribal	1.1	37.9
Other	15.2	15.5
Total	100%	100%

ingly, none of the Special Constables mention a need for more Special Constables although about seven percent of the Regular Members do.

While several similarities of interpretation of what the Native community can do are noted, for example dealing with "alcohol problems", "assimilation" and "gaining a broader understanding of the larger society", there are important differences. Surprisingly, almost twice the percentage of Special Constables suggest integration into the larger society, possibly reflecting their own

movement in that regard. Self-help, almost a motherhood issue, was mentioned more frequently by Regular Members; Special Constables perhaps recognizing some of the very real difficulties involved. Most interesting though is the suggestion by 28 percent of Regular Members, but no Special Constables, that the Native Community should improve their knowledge of the law and the police. However, 38 percent of the Special Constables do believe that Native communities should develop their own police, compared to only 1 percent of Regular Members. This, coupled with the lack of reference to more Special Constables in Table 19, is a significant comment on their role and their perception of it; a comment supported by interviews in the field. A representative sample of comments follows.

1. **Regular Members**

a) **What might the police do to improve the situation:**

Better public relations with the young Natives, show the police officer as a friend not someone who continually puts them in the drunk tank.
Police must consider themselves in part as a portion of the community, not so much as a government agency.

If the source of the problem is on our side remove the source of the problem, that is transfer to non-Native area or fire the individual causing the problem. I've worked with too many blind bigots who have the capability of screwing up a years' public relations in less than a week. Our organization does not need these individuals and the sooner we recognize that we do have them and start getting rid of them the better off we will be. Native persons have a strong tendency not to complain, so when an abuse of some form does take place the chances of its surfacing officially are almost nil. The repercussions however are long-lasting. It affects the public relations and policing for all members in the area.

b. **What the Native community might do to improve the situation:**

Control the alcohol problem and make people work for their money instead of just giving it to them.

Try to educate themselves. Greater understanding of a policeman's role in the community.

Invite the police to social functions. Try to be more integrated into White society if they choose to live in a non-Native community.

Give up and join our race. (Hopefully indicative of a very small minority.)

2. **Special Constables**

a. **What the police might do to improve the situation:**

Members should get involved with community events, but so far only do it when asked by Special Constables.

They might try to get involved with the younger people in the communities, gain their trust and friendship, they will be the citizens running the community someday.

More public relations. They are never on the reserves enough to know the people. They only deal with them on the job.

In the statements above, and to some degree in those that follow, it appears that many Special Constables link "police" primarily with non-Native Regular Member status.

b. **What the Native community might do to improve the situation:**

90 percent of police complaints on the reserve are caused by drinking - do something about it.

They might try and send invitations to the police for social functions or recreational activities so that the police are not seen only in times of trouble.

Take police as human beings. Invite police to attend sports events, meetings or maybe even go on camping trips.

In most of the above the issue of communication, or the lack of it, between police and Native peoples stands out. Here, elsewhere in the survey data, and in the field work, concerned officers and Native people point to the problems created by formal and informal barriers to communication. Natives and non-Natives fre-

quently hesitate to make meaningful moves to remove barriers and develop greater mutual understanding of the roles, responsibilities and social situation of the other party and of the degree to which both are part of a larger community. One can ask whether the police indeed can gain greater knowledge and understanding of the Native community given the dominant law enforcement perspective and the narrower range of interaction thus possible. Perceptions so gained are bound to colour actions and affect the interaction with, and perceptions of the police by, the community. On the other hand, although circumstances, make this more problematic, one can also question the role of the Native community, and community leaders in particular, in working toward self-improvement, self-respect and in promoting particular perceptions of the police or maintaining distance from the police.

FIELDWORK - 3 CASE STUDIES

Field research was conducted at three more or less representative sites. Each detachment has a sergeant in charge, is about the same size, and has at least one Indian Special Constable. Each serves a large geographic area with at least one community of some size and several smaller concentrations. The locations of the fieldwork have been disguised in order to maintain their anonymity. In no way are these comments to be regarded as evaluative of the detachments, personnel or operations.

Case Study Site I

The detachment is located in a small town a short distance from a prairie city. This proximity has meant considerable growth recently as a influx of commuters has given it the aura of a "bedroom" community. The town offers a limited range of shopping and recreational facilities with most residents using the nearby urban amenities. The detachment is responsible for municipal policing and for service to the surrounding rural district, a sparsely populated farming and ranching area and an Indian reserve.

The reserve is large but has a population of only six to seven hundred people. It is some distance from the detachment, at the extreme edge of its area in fact, a factor of considerable importance in it's relationship with the police. Although the road to the reserve is good, it still takes almost half an hour to get there and, because of the size of the reserve, a call to a remote location will require a further fifteen to thirty minutes. Although there are several concentrations of housing on the reserve, the population is generally dispersed. The reserve is closer to the city than to the detachment's town and there is almost no interaction between town and reserve.

Case Study Site II

The detachment office is in a small community over 100 kilometers from a large city. It serves a large area with a fluctuating population due to seasonal resort facilities. Policing services are provided to a number of outlying communities of mixed population - Indian, Metis and white - as well as a small, remote reserve. All of these are some distance from the detachment office and are visited by periodic patrols.

However, most of the detachment's work is concerned with policing it's own community, a neighbouring one-industry "company town", and a near by large Indian reserve with a population estimated at 1400-1500. Most of the reserve population is spread out along two main roads providing relatively easy access. Shopping and recreation facilities in the area are about what are to be expected in a community of this type and provide for most immediate needs. Most people, Native and non-Native alike, also make sporadic visits to the city for a variety of reasons. There is considerable interaction, especially economic, between Native and non-Native communities.

Case Study Site III

This "remote" detachment is located in the northern prairies and, although it serves a number of small Native hamlets spread over a large area, its major responsibility is the population in its immediate vicinity, the town in which the detachment is located and a small Indian reserve a few miles away. The population of the former, (2200-2300), is primarily Native; about 90-95 percent Metis and 5-10 percent status Indians. The non-Native population is small; the two largest identifiable groups being the RCMP officers, teachers, and their families. The reserve has a fluctuating population of about 200-250. The area is, of necessity, relatively self-contained for shopping and recreation, al-

beit at a rather rudimentary level, with little travel "south" by most residents. An air strip exists, used mainly by persons with "government". There is a road link south but it is at least six hours driving time to the closest community of any size and a further 375 kilometres to a "large" city.

The Native Community and the Police

Many dimensions of any community may affect the delivery of policing services and the interaction between the community and the police.

Community Organization: The structural organization of each Native community was considered. The band and reserve at Site I appear to be well organized and very formally run by a Chief and council with an extensive administrative staff. As elsewhere though, considerable informal influence is exercised by band elders. It is apparent that a great deal of economic planning is being done for the future of the reserve. The situation at Site II is, in many respects, quite the opposite of that at Site I. Band management is disorganized with dispute over the status of the Chief and council. Kin relationships, and elders, play an even more prominent role at Site II providing much of what cohesiveness there is. Several respected elders remarked on the need for stronger internal leadership and a diminution of external influences - Native and non-Native. Some aspects of acculturation, and the loss of important Native values, one argued, has resulted in a declining self-discipline and is reflected in crime rates. At Site III, the reserve functions smoothly with a particularly influential Chief. There is a small band administration although not seen as a very visible force in the area. The town is run by a local administrative authority under a "town manager" although considerable informality pervades the administration. Elders are of considerable significance in the town as are several local, wealthy entrepreneurs.

Differences in police interaction in these milieux are interesting. At Site I, interaction is rather formal and appointments are often necessary to see the Chief or band administrator. Such contact is primarily between the Sergeant and band officials although the Special Constable maintains informal contacts (albeit limited by kin and police status). Few officers at Site II, apart from the Sergeant, seemed to know who was responsible for what on the reserve although several mentioned semi-informal contact with several elders. At Site III, informality is the norm; all officers having almost daily interaction with community leaders - often casual meetings in local "greasy spoons". The fact that the reserves at Sites I and III are "dry" and the reserve at Site II and the town at Site III are not is very important. The "dry" reserves work to maintain "dry" status and to minimize what they regard as the disruption of all facets of community life from alcohol abuse.

Community Organizations and Economic Activities: There are considerable differences in the economic situation of the Native communities as well as in the approach toward development - although this is largely dependant upon geographic and other factors beyond local control. Economics generally, local development, and unemployment are of concern to leaders, elders, and others at all locations. Most are quite cognizant of the impact of economic deprivation on <u>all</u> aspects of the community although a sense of powerlessness in this regard is common.

The reserve at Site I is, by Canadian standards, rather well off in terms of its resources and their management. Band-run organizations and businesses provide employment for many band members, employment is available in the nearby city and there are agricultural opportunities on the reserve. Unemployment is relatively low on the reserve; an estimate from a band councillor being about 20 percent. Site II lacks the diverse resources available at Site I and unemployment is high; between 80 and 90

percent. The reserve has attempted several commercial ventures to provide local employment but these are having serious difficulties due to decreased subsidies and poor markets. There is some employment on the reserve in band administration but this is limited. An alcohol treatment centre and a senior citizen's residence, examples of local endeavor, are largely dependent on external funds. Seasonal employment is available in the area in small primary resource industries and a few reserve residents are employed in unskilled jobs in the nearby town. Apart from some seasonal woods-work, the local mill employs few Native people. Several teenagers were fatalistic about being able to getting a mill job "so why try?".

At Site III unemployment is also very high, with estimates of 80-90 percent being given. Most local employment is in the service sector, private and public: local stores, the hospital, schools, and the town itself being the major employers. Some work is available in primary industries in the general vicinity but few are able or willing to take advantage of it. Many older residents still pursue more traditional hunting, fishing and trapping activities but these resources have become badly depleted. Several older men expressed regret at that so few younger people are interested in learning these skills; preferring the "softer" life of the town. They argue that with hard work, a few trappers can still make a good living - but only a few.

Education and Other Institutions: At Site I all children are bussed to schools in the nearby city. Friction between Native and non-Native children is not considered a problem. Some young people also attend post-secondary institutions in the city. The comparative "success" of the educational system is regarded with mixed emotions by older reserve residents because, although some students return and provide necessary skills, many do not. Many people consider a by-product of the school system, loss of cultural identity especially language, to be a serious matter. Inter-

marriage is also seen as a growing problem and some feel that too many non-Indians already live on the reserve and have too much influence. Interest in religion among young people is reported to be low although many of the older people still attend church. More traditional "medicine" is apparently practiced although the extent is undetermined.

Site II is very similar with respect to religious influence and elders express concern at a loss of a stabilizing religious value base among the people. Elementary and secondary education is available on the reserve although there is mixed opinion of the quality. Most older people see the schools as fostering assimilation but, unlike Site I, few note the positive, albeit conflicting, aspects. Teenagers, while not enamoured of the system, recognize some of the socio-economic mobility possible through education, and cite cases of friends who have left for post-secondary education. As at Site I, instances of individual educational mobility are well known.

At Site III both elementary and secondary education is available locally although education is not regarded by many parents or children as a viable mobility channel. Indeed, according to knowledgeable informants, a considerable proportion of school-age youngsters neither attend school, nor are they encouraged to do so by parents. The provincial government maintains a community college branch in the town which offers limited training in a few service fields. Religion, although declining in influence, remains significant in community life, and many of all ages attend regularly. The local clergyman, a long-time community resident, exercises considerable influence over some aspects of community life. Traditional "medicine" is apparently also a part of the community life.

Cultural Milieu: During the field work, an effort was made to assess the strength of traditional culture. At Site I, there are

few manifestations of efforts to retain or strengthen traditional culture. A cultural centre on the reserve is not terribly active: a small number of concerned families are involved in some activities but the majority show little interest. Older people although concerned about the extent of acculturation, seem resigned to it. Expressions of "Indianness" are almost always made in a political or economic context and Indian identity is used as a rallying point for or against particular issues, especially in conflicts with external institutions.

Efforts at Site II to preserve elements of culture are meeting with mixed success. While a large cultural centre caters to a minority of the people on the reserve and, quite a few families express pride in their heritage and work hard to retain their language, others seem to have lost interest. Although less so than at Site I, Indianness often has political and economic overtones: seemingly a necessary adjunct of relationships with external institutions. The perception by some officers that many Native people no longer speak their own language and that children are not learning it indicates the limited dimensions of interaction and a corresponding lack of knowledge of the community.

Although the population at Site III is predominately Metis, similar issues are involved. Almost all residents retain their language; children learn it at home and it is a major instrument of socialization in the community. The community as a whole is making efforts to preserve major elements of its heritage and traditional handcrafts are still widely practised, not for show or sale but for daily use. While there is evidence of social disintegration in the community, the underlying values are, for many, still strong. This is moreso among the Status Indians who have moved to the reserve, in part to establish social distance from what they perceive as negative influences of the larger community.

Attitudes Toward Police: The attitude of Natives toward the

police at Site I, is best characterized as neutral. With the exception of patrol visibility and response time, both of which are in part "political", few complaints were mentioned. Some community leaders feel that the reserve might be better served by a detachment located closer to the reserve and if officers were more knowledgeable of the reserve. Several leaders remarked on the N.C.O.'s considerable personal effort to bridge the communication gap between the reserve and the police.

At Site II stronger opinions both for and against the police and police activity are voiced. A number of complaints were heard about individual officers, although residents note that the situation is much better than in the past. Nonetheless there is a perception that Native people are policed "much harder" than non-Natives: for example, a perception that Native people are more likely to be stopped and charged for traffic offences and that they are subjected to greater police scrutiny. Younger people are more often of this opinion than older band members, several of whom express a desire for more stringent law enforcement on the reserve. A common idea is that the police serve primarily the white community. Although some officers are occasionally involved in recreation or sports activities on, or with, the reserve, there is a general feeling that few, if any, understand the social, political and economic reality of being Native. Suggestions are made that more police time should be available for non-law enforcement activities: for example dropping in for a few moments at the band offices or just getting out of the car to talk.

At Site III, although opinion varied considerably, attitudes in general seem mildly favorable. Even minor offenders, interviewed informally, hold little animosity although there is certainly resentment at being caught. Although improvements in police-community relations, and policing generally, are attributed to the current N.C.O., many feel that recreational and other social contacts could be expanded with good results. The police are regarded as

generally fair although there is a perception that some "offences", especially minor Liquor Act offences, are being enforced more rigorously than necessary "to get the stats up". On the other hand, the police argue that such enforcement serves a preventive function vis-a-vis more serious offences.

Stereotyping: The use of verbal stereotypes by police officers varies considerably. At Site I stereotypes are common, at Site II, where work with Native people is more routine, they are less frequent and at Site III, stereotyped references to Native people are quite uncommon. An inference that can be drawn is that greater contact with, and knowledge of, Native people may reduce the use of stereotypes in speech and perhaps, by extension, in behaviour.

Indian-White Relations: This is difficult to assess at Site I because of the proximity of the large city. Few reserve members mentioned any real difficulties in their general interaction with non-Natives off the reserve, although personnel in government agencies did receive negative comments. There are no stores or shopping facilities on the reserve so residents spend quite a bit of money in stores near the reserve with no special problems. Here, as elsewhere, the Native population provides considerable input to a local economy. At Site II, the non-Native community is generally tolerant, largely because of the substantial economic input to the local economy by Natives people. Services are available to all but there is little social interaction. Many non-Natives consider that the Native community is "living off the government" in spite of the economic "benefits" to the community as a whole. Negative stereotyping of Native people was common among non-Natives. Given the small non-Native population at Site III, relations are difficult to generalize although the best description of the attitudes of many non-Natives is paternalistic. Relations here are at a very personal level and several non-Natives are considered, by both communities, to be "going Native", resulting in considerable local comment and opprobrium.

Police Activity

Occurrence reports for the 8 weeks proceeding the fieldwork are examined to differentiate between law enforcement and service functions. At Site I (Table 21) about 7 percent of the occurrences involve Native people and 91 percent non-Natives. The majority of Native occurrences are on the reserve; those off the reserve are Highway Traffic Act or Motor Vehicle Act offences. Native people at this site appear in occurrence reports roughly in proportion to their population although they are somewhat over-represented in law enforcement and under-represented in service figures when compared to the non-Native population. Approximately 18 percent and 12 percent of the non-Native and Native occurrences respectively are of the service/peacekeeping variety reversing or-der to 77 percent and 85 percent respectively for law enforcement.

TABLE 21

Summary of Police Activity Showing Type of Incident and Status of Client - Site I

Client[1]		Law Enforcement	Service/ Peacekeeping	Administration and Other	TOTAL	
NATIVE	on reserve	43	7	2	52	58
	off reserve	6	0	0	6	
NON-NATIVE		562	133	31	726	
NOT DETERMINED		4	3	6	13	
TOTAL		615	143	39	797	

1. The determination of whether an occurrence is "Native" or "Non-Native" was made in consultation with local officers; advice also being sought about the location when necessary.

At Site II (Table 22), Native occurrences are about 30 percent of the total, over-representing a population fraction of about 18-20 percent. About 20 percent of the Native occurrences are off the reserve in the neighbouring communities. Eighty-three percent of Native occurrences are law enforcement and about 15 percent are service, and for non-Natives, 78 percent and 18 percent respectively.

TABLE 22

Summary of Police Activity Showing Type of Incident and Status of Client - Site II

Client	Law Enforcement	Service/ Peace-keeping	Administration and Other	TOTAL	
NATIVE on reserve	98	19	3	120	149
NATIVE off reserve	26	3	0	29	
NON-NATIVE	276	62	15	353	
NOT DETERMINED	1	1	1	3	
TOTAL	401	85	19	505	

Site III (table 23) cannot be directly compared to the other two because the population is overwhelmingly Native and the non-Natives represent, generally, a rather narrow range of the socio-economic spectrum. A significant aspect is the on-reserve, off-reserve distinction. About 10 percent of the Native people live on the reserve while less than 1 percent of the occurrences in the Native category are on the reserve. There are several possible factors contributing to this phenomenon. First, the reserve is several miles from town and, although patrolled regularly, is nonetheless not nearly as immediately visible. Second, telecommunication links between the reserve and the town are limited and must pass through a band leader; a possible filtering process. Third, there is no way of knowing how many of

TABLE 23

Summary of Police Activity Showing Type of Incident and Status of Client - Site III

Client		Law Enforcement	Service/ Peace-keeping	Administration and Other	TOTAL	
NATIVE	on reserve	2	2	0	4	571
	off reserve	496	63	8	567	
NON-NATIVE		5	6	0	11	
TOTAL		503	71	8	582	

the off-reserve occurrences involve reserve residents; although, according to officers, this number is small. This reserve, like the reserve at Site I, is "dry" and working actively to reduce the liquor consumption and related problems.

Police in the Community

In addition to many informal conversations and discussions with individuals and groups, officers were interviewed using questions similar to those in the mailed questionnaire.

Percentage of Police Work with Natives: At Sites I and III, this corresponds closely with the population break-down. At Site II, members report an average of about 75 percent, much greater than the percentage of Natives in the area. This perhaps reflects some perceptual distortions, being much greater than the occurrence report data suggest.

Frequency of Police Contact with Natives: There is a progression from Sites I to III corresponding noticeably with the proximity of the Native population to the detachment and the proportional popu-

lation figures. At Site I, most members indicate contact with Native people once or twice a week, or less frequently; at Site II, contact is either daily or several times a day; and at Site III, all members have contact with Natives several times a day. At Site III, official contact with Indians on the reserve was cited as being considerably less than with Natives in the town, due largely to its dry status and the distance from town.

Most Common Contact Situations: At Sites II and III, liquor related situations or offences (break and entering at III and driving offences at II) were the most common. At Site I, although liquor related situations were mentioned, they were not as common with the efforts being made by the community to reduce consumption and the small number actually drinking cited as reasons. Contact with band police, public relations, and service activities were mentioned more often.

Non-Official Contact with Natives: Once again, a continuum is found. At Site I only the Sergeant and the Special Constable mentioned any non-official, social contact; at Site II, with one exception, officers say they have some contact, mainly through sports, a few times a month or several times a year and at Site III, all have daily, non-official, contact in a wide range of informal settings.

Differences in Official Dealings with Natives & Non-Natives: At Site I the perception is that Natives are less co-operative than non-Natives, less trusting and have more negative attitudes towards the police. In general, there is a perception that the Native people consider that the police are to be used only when essential. The impact of the larger society, as well as Indian politics, were mentioned as partial explanations. At Site II, with one exception, all said that there are indeed differences. Non-Natives are more aware of the law and their "rights" and non-Native "trouble-makers" are considerably more "difficult" than

their Native counterparts. At Site III, no differences are noted although all say that official contact of comparable nature with non-Natives was rare. Some non-Natives apparently give the impression that the police should be more lenient toward whites.

Law Enforcement - Service Functions: Officers were asked about their policing activity, both law enforcment and service, during the preceding month. Estimates of overall contact with Native people are 5-10 percent at Site I, about 80 percent at Site II, and almost 100 percent at Site III. At all three sites contact with Native people is seen as about two thirds law enforcement and one third service compared to a 50-50 split for non-Native contact.

Knowledge of Native Peoples: A similar pattern is apparent at all three sites. At the national level, with some variation on specific dimensions, self-reports indicate a generally low level of knowledge. At the local level, a marked improvement is noted with respect to knowledge of social and economic conditions. Although officers express some improvement in knowledge of the cultural and organizational areas over time, this is much less than in other areas.

Utility of Prior Knowledge: The range of opinion about the usefulness of prior knowledge is interesting: at Site III either "Somewhat" or "Not Much"; at Site II ranged "Quite a Bit" to "Not Much"; and at Site I, all but one said "Quite a Bit". At least one or two officers at each site mentioned variations between given reserves or Native communities. Cultural and economic facets are mentioned most frequently in the context of knowledge that would enable new officers to understand and work more effectively in the new Native community. The range of opinion, especially between Sites I and III can be attributed largely to the amount of time involved with Native people. Several at the latter location say that their immersion into the Native community

was quick and total and aided greatly by the detachment sergeant and other officers. At Site I, several said that because of the relatively small amount of work on the reserve it was difficult to gain necessary informal knowledge.

Several relevant suggestions were made about what might be done to assist officers in adjusting to new situations although NCO's, more pragmatic, pointed out the costs involved in some of them. Improvement of recruit training with respect to Native peoples was a frequent suggestion as was tailoring cross-cultural courses to smaller regions. A number said that more time is needed for non-official, and service, contact with the Native community but recognized that conflicts with organizational demands, conflicts with the idea of "real police work", and social pressures as factors that mitigate against this.

Major Areas of Difficulty with Native People: Although several common difficulties were noted, most references were to more specific local problems. The two most common ones, mentioned at all three sites, are the apparent unwillingness of Native people to press charges or give evidence, and the language barrier. Specific areas of concern include difficulties encountered, or perceived, in dealing with local Native politics and politicians; a tendency to overstate incidents to get faster response; and a lack of trust in the police.

Major Areas of Difficulty with Non-Natives: Few mentioned any major concerns in this regard. Those issues that did emerge are in three categories: a lack of respect for the police; lack of co-operation with the police; and a perception of "knowing all about the law" derived largely, it is believed, from American television.

Police Perception of How Native People View Police: In response to the question "How do you think Natives view the police?" most

officers at Site I said "so-so"; at Site II either "so-so" or "positively"; and at Site III, "positively". The reasons given reflect some of the localized factors that can affect such perceptions. At Site I, ambivalence of Natives to police, the influence of band politics, and the law enforcement role are the primary reasons. At Site II, "fair treatment" and detachment policies and practices toward the reserve and Native people were mentioned along with a lack of Native understanding of the law. At Site III officers felt that a few "troublemakers" create most of the major problems and that generally, the police are seen as filling a necessary role in the community.

What Can or Should the Police Do? Almost everyone mentioned the motherhood issue of greater community involvement - in sports,- with youth in particular and, in general, better police-community relations. N.C.O.'s and some constables, did note the problems of reconciling this, especially on "company time", with organizational and "real policing" demands. With respect to community involvement there is something of a paradox. On the one hand, opportunities for involvement are probably greatest in situations where the Native community is proportionally large and other opportunities for social and recreational activities are limited. On the other hand, problems that are perceived to be associated with closer social contacts in the community increase as well in such communities.

Posting and Transfer: The impact of posting and transfers on the families of married officers was frequently raised. Problems associated with childrens' education and social activities in small or remote communities are of considerable concern. The disruption of teenagers' education, and the quality of education pose particular family difficulties. The spouses often experience difficulties adapting to life in small communities and to social and geographic isolation. The culture shock of living in a Native community, especially for those with little previous contact,

experience, and minimal preparation may be considerable. The extent to which family-related concerns affect the performance of officers, especially in the type of policing situations under discussion here, is an area that needs further examination.

COMMENTS

At the end of the questionnaire, many officers took the time to put some comments on paper which, with a few exceptions, were considered and printable. Many generally positive comments came from individuals who like working in largely Native areas but recognize the problems of stereotyping.

> Personally, I would rather work in an Indian community. The work is more varied and active. As well I find the Indian people more honest and accepting than their non-Native counter-parts.
> I find that in my detachment area I classify the groups as Native, non-Native and trouble-makers. Too often Native and trouble-makers are considered one and the same and this is a poor way of thinking. It must be remembered that no matter what group a person belongs to there are good and bad and then we must remember that we must not misjudge a whole group based on a few of its poor characters.

Other comments indicate the frustrations experienced by officers engaged in what they regard as an uphill struggle. Stereotypes, biases and generalizations are common. These comments also indicate the narrow range of contact that many have with Native communities and, if primarily law enforcement, a large segment of the community is easily overlooked.

> I feel the whole issue of natives is being handled in a stupid fashion. Let us treat everyone the same and forget about Natives, Native rights, and Native multicultural courses and do police work. All the education on how bad we treated the Indians is not worth anything. When you deal with an Indian you treat him like an Indian. They do not understand anything else and it will take probably ten generation to breed the Indian out of them. If they take away reserves and make them mix with the White population. Working with Natives on a daily basis is totally and completely frustrating with little or no satisfaction obtained on my part.

Other negative comments also use stereotypes but with a more specific or local point of reference. Causal factors, often government policies, and moralistic overtones linked to the notions of

work and money, are common.

> I am by no means prejudiced. When I graduated from training we had dealings with the Indians in the South-western part of the province. Most were self-employed (farming, sawmills) and overall are doing well financially and otherwise. The detachment I am working now, is a completely different ball game. Almost all Indians are on welfare. There are jobs available but they are too lazy to get out and get them. Alcohol is also a big problem up there.

Training was frequently mentioned in the field during any discussion of policing in Native communities. Comments range from fairly positive remarks about cross-cultural courses to very negative ones about recruit training on this topic.

> In regards to the cross-cultural course at Depot Division, I feel it is of poor quality and content. This opinion was expressed during my training and the instructor concurred. I feel that more emphasis should be put on the cross-cultural course during training, and it should be longer. Also the guest lecturers for this course should be screened more carefully, and then they perhaps should be better qualified and unbiased. Each member posted to a Native policing area should be given the utmost education in the area and this type of policing. The peace officer reacts from a position of ignorance and deals with the problems with the only tool available, reactionary force and Whiteman's laws which were evolved from his culture. We should study what constitutes an offence within the Indian culture, what is accepted and not accepted. Finally because of the adversary system, peace officers now feel it is their responsibility to see that justice is done, that a conviction is obtained, and we are moving away from the position that our responsibility is only the investigation and gathering of evidence.

The importance of equitable treatment of all citizens was mentioned upon many occasions. Many point to the stereotyping of police by the Native community and the tremendous negative, long-term impact that one "bad" member can have. At one site in particular, the N.C.O. i/c had to struggle to overcome a very negative opinion of the police, a legacy of previous N.C.O.'s.

I do have certain thoughts on Native policing from my experience with them and I found the reserves easy to please as long as the people were dealt with fairly. There never were complaints about the firm use of policing as long as it was done fairly and straight forward.

As long as I have lived here in the detachment area, I've seen a good relationship between the Native and non-Native people and the police. But it only takes one police officer to wreck this relationship.

There is a general consensus, although not universal, that Native communities are different from non-Native communities and that this can and should be reflected in policing services.

I know this will seem like I'm all negative but I'm not. I have policed reserves for the best part of 20 years. I think we have as much trouble with our own Force policy makers as with the Natives themselves. You can only push P.C.R. programs and Crime Prevention programs down peoples throats so long. We end up with P.O.G.S.'s requiring us to attend council meetings when Native groups don't want us there. Fair treatment by our members to all people is our biggest asset and if we ensure we treat the Native people with fairness we will continue to have their respect. Put some responsibility for Native/police relations on the Native leaders, they control the people and as long as they have negative attitudes so will their people.

I feel very strongly that much of the problems with Natives and police are brought on by the attitude of the police members. It is usually the police who bring violence to the Natives and they will respond. The proper selection of N.C.O.'s i/c and personnel can during a period reduce violence between police and Natives. On the contrary the posting of one policeman with the wrong attitude can soon cause friction and problems. More emphasis should be placed on selecting and training people to deal with Native people. We require special qualities and training to deal with the French people, why not give the same consideration to Native people. There were here first.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As has been illustrated above on several occasions, it is obvious that many of the "policing problems" encountered in Native communities are directly or indirectly the consequence of historical economic, social and political phenomena. To understand the present, and the reality of policing in this context, it is essential to consider these as causal or contributing factors. Many of these conditions still exist and, given the nature of Canadian society and its institutions, any drastic change in these underlying conditions is remote. Nonetheless, some of the issues are capable of amelioration at a local level at least, even if not subject to broader change. Local employment practices and Native-white relations in the community are examples.

Thus it is that the police can often find themselves caught in a three jawed voice; between the political, economic and social realities of Native communities, an external society's conception of law and law enforcement, and the needs and demands of the police organization per se. Recognizing this, it therefore is important that the police work toward whatever level of alleviation is possible. Such a leading role would be somewhat new for Canadian police but, given the basic power differential between police and Natives, it is a role that might be very effective. Eldridge Cleaver's statement to the effect that "You're either part of the solution or part of the problem" may have special significance indeed for the police and their role in Native communities.

Before a more specific discussion of the research questions a number of general conclusions are outlined briefly. Native people constitute a small but, for the police, significant minority in these three provinces. There is a high probability that R.C.M.P. officers will have some "official" contact with Native people on a

regular and relatively frequent basis. The knowledge and understanding of Native peoples' history, culture, and social and economic conditions is generally low. While work with Native people is accompanied by improvement over time, this is mainly in selected areas; generally those visible as a part of the law enforcement function. Such limited knowledge may result in the perpetuation of misunderstanding, stereotypes, and problems: for the police and for the Native community.

Policing Native communities involves different demands and pressures on the organization and individual officers than experienced in other small communities: although such policing is not, of necessity, more difficult. In that officers may experience greater difficulties for reasons that are not necessarily linked to the Native community per se; differences may become equated with difficulties over time and the difficulties generalized.

For many officers police work involving a significant amount of time with Native people is considered to be difficult, hence less than desirable. Stereotypes of "Native Policing" are perpetuated during training and through informal socialization in the police sub-culture. While such ideas cannot easily be eliminated, efforts in this direction cannot help but improve relations between Native people and the police. Similarly, many Native people either hold or are exposed to negative images and stereotypes of police which are perpetuated informally through socialization and stories in the Native community. Dealings with the "official" police are often approached with trepidation and anticipated difficulties. While efforts to alleviate these problems should be made by both the Native community and the police, the latter might be expected to take the lead.

Police officers have a fairly well delineated perception of Native communities, although this may not be complete as comparisons between Regular Members and Special Constables demonstrate.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As has been illustrated above on several occasions, it is obvious that many of the "policing problems" encountered in Native communities are directly or indirectly the consequence of historical economic, social and political phenomena. To understand the present, and the reality of policing in this context, it is essential to consider these as causal or contributing factors. Many of these conditions still exist and, given the nature of Canadian society and its institutions, any drastic change in these underlying conditions is remote. Nonetheless, some of the issues are capable of amelioration at a local level at least, even if not subject to broader change. Local employment practices and Native-white relations in the community are examples.

Thus it is that the police can often find themselves caught in a three jawed voice; between the political, economic and social realities of Native communities, an external society's conception of law and law enforcement, and the needs and demands of the police organization per se. Recognizing this, it therefore is important that the police work toward whatever level of alleviation is possible. Such a leading role would be somewhat new for Canadian police but, given the basic power differential between police and Natives, it is a role that might be very effective. Eldridge Cleaver's statement to the effect that "You're either part of the solution or part of the problem" may have special significance indeed for the police and their role in Native communities.

Before a more specific discussion of the research questions a number of general conclusions are outlined briefly. Native people constitute a small but, for the police, significant minority in these three provinces. There is a high probability that R.C.M.P. officers will have some "official" contact with Native people on a

regular and relatively frequent basis. The knowledge and understanding of Native peoples' history, culture, and social and economic conditions is generally low. While work with Native people is accompanied by improvement over time, this is mainly in selected areas; generally those visible as a part of the law enforcement function. Such limited knowledge may result in the perpetuation of misunderstanding, stereotypes, and problems: for the police and for the Native community.

Policing Native communities involves different demands and pressures on the organization and individual officers than experienced in other small communities: although such policing is not, of necessity, more difficult. In that officers may experience greater difficulties for reasons that are not necessarily linked to the Native community per se; differences may become equated with difficulties over time and the difficulties generalized.

For many officers police work involving a significant amount of time with Native people is considered to be difficult, hence less than desirable. Stereotypes of "Native Policing" are perpetuated during training and through informal socialization in the police sub-culture. While such ideas cannot easily be eliminated, efforts in this direction cannot help but improve relations between Native people and the police. Similarly, many Native people either hold or are exposed to negative images and stereotypes of police which are perpetuated informally through socialization and stories in the Native community. Dealings with the "official" police are often approached with trepidation and anticipated difficulties. While efforts to alleviate these problems should be made by both the Native community and the police, the latter might be expected to take the lead.

Police officers have a fairly well delineated perception of Native communities, although this may not be complete as comparisons between Regular Members and Special Constables demonstrate.

While incomplete or inaccurate perceptions may not be important per se, when they are the basis for action, or are intervening factors in action, they can affect policing. Native communities are not, in spite of what is believed by many officers, just like any other communities. Knowledge gained through experience is not always directly transferable, especially not from a non-Native to a Native community. In this context there is considerable range of opinion regarding training at all levels. There is a considerable need for more relevant and more specific training, both recruit and in-service, to assist officers in their work with Native people and Native communities.

The importance of the N.C.O. in charge of detachments with a Native population, of whatever size, cannot be overstated. By their personality, attitudes, and behavior, these individuals determine the nature of the detachment's, and the individual officer's, relationship with Native people. This is critical in shaping the immediate situation and the future; affecting both general police-community relations over time and younger members who may have such responsibility one day. The selection of the N.C.O.'s to be sent to such detachments is therefore of the utmost importance; a process regarded by informants as in need of improvement.

There are inconsistencies and misunderstandings, on the part of Regular Members and Native Special Constables alike, concerning the role and function of the latter within detachments as a whole and, more particularly, with respect to the Native community. Special Constables, in major respects, occupy a marginal position vis-a-vis both the Regular Members and the Native community with consequent feelings of conflict; personal and organizational. The fact that many Regular Members see a need for more Special Constables to work with the Native community while Special Constables more often refer to the potential of band or tribal police illustrates one consequence of this conflict.

The relative affluence of the Native community is an important variable as economic strength and stability provides greater security for the development of local community organizations and support services. The demands on policing in a situation of endemic poverty are great and are exacerbated if this is linked to a perception of prejudice and discrimination. In spite of "traditional" strengths, poverty and disruptive external pressures result in social disruption, disintegration and alienation. The problems for the police, perceptually and from their organizational location in the larger social system, increase greatly as a consequence. Even such things as the location of the detachment office in relation to the communities it serves has considerable impact on the delivery of police services and the perception thereof by the Native community. A detachment located centrally in the Native community will inevitably lead to patrol patterns, response time, police visibility and involvement generally in the community that are different from those found when the detachment is thirty miles away. Similarly, where police officers live vis-a-vis the Native community - right in it, close by, or isolated from it - insofar as this is related to opportunities for social interaction, is also a factor in this perceptual equation.

If responses to the questionnaire are reasonable indicators, and there is no reason to believe otherwise, then there is a small minority of officers who probably should not be policing Native communities; or any other "minority" community for that matter. Their attitudes and biases, whether consciously expressed in behavior or not, can only cause irreparable harm to relations between police and community. Indeed, as Alderson[2] suggests, they have no place in a "superior" police force.

The traditionally important influence of elders in the Native community remains strong in most communities, but appears strongest in the more isolated areas. While most Regular Members recog-

nize the role of community elders, as they do the role of family and kin structures, they often underestimate their pervasive influence. The model of power and influence in a non-Native community is not entirely appropriate in the Native context; although there are similarities with those that are remote, homogenous, small and relatively poor.

On the whole, there is little social interaction between officers and the Native community. What there is is somewhat more extensive in more isolated areas where the proportion of Native population is greater. Here as elsewhere though, such contacts are largely restricted to a narrow range of activities. This situation is noted by Native people who attribute some of the officers' lack of understanding of the Native community to it. It is also apparent that, when compared with the non-Native community, Native communities receive proportionally greater law enforcement attention and proportionally less service/peacekeeping activity. This is also observed within the Native community to the detriment of relations with the police. Even if services are objectively no different than those provided the non-Native community, the perception that a difference exists is just as damaging. Policing must not only be done justly, it must be seen to be done justly (to misquote the more obvious, but equally applicable, reference to justice). However, in this regard and with respect to "justice" as a whole, the police have to some degree become visible scapegoats for events and circumstances in the criminal justice system, and in the larger socio-economic structures, that are largely beyond their control.

In many important respects the institution of the police and the laws it is obliged to enforce are foreign to the Native community. They represent values and norms which often conflict with those of the community. While much acculturation has occurred, along with a degree of structural integration with Euro-Canadian institutions, significant aspects of traditional culture remain.

Assumptions made by many Regular Members, and their perceptions of the Native community, are at times ethnocentric that is, "they use the values of their own group as standards for judging everyone else"[28] and underestimate the extent and importance of core cultural retention. Officers' misunderstanding or misinterpretation of Native attitudes toward the "law" (for example, the apparent unwillingness to press charges) reflects this: Native people, like many others, using thepolice for their own purposes, which conflict with officers' purposes and perceptions.

The Research Questions

The following is a more focused summary discussion of the findings with respect to the research questions. It should be noted that there is considerable overlap from one question to another as the processes involved cannot, in reality, be so easily differentiated.

1. a. To what extent do structural and cultural facets of the Native community affect the type of policing possible and/or provided?

To the extent determined, two aspects are involved; the formal community organizations and the informal structures. The two cannot easily be separated because, as with the leadership role of elders there is a cross-over effect. The existence of formal and/or informal structures varies from community to community depending on size, location, degree of acculturation and integration, and relative affluence. Formal organizations are of two major types; those that are traditional or quasi-traditional in origin, (Chief and council for example) and those that are the result of contact and the necessity of dealing with Euro-Canadian society and institutions (alcohol treatment centres, band administrative bureaucracies, and tribal police).

The police that provide services to any particular community also are part of a large, bureaucratic organization but encounter both types of formal structures in the Native community as well as informal organizations and influences. At one time or another, officers and detachments become involved with the Chief and council and the band administration, answer calls for assistance from a "detox" centre or tribal police, and encounter teenagers at local cultural-recreational centres. On the face of it, such contacts are fairly straight forward. Underlying them and directly influencing the nature of the relationships established, however, lies the informal network of elders, the family and kinship structures, and "medicine" beliefs. Often, the officer is unaware of, or discounts, the latters' influence. Given sufficient time and sensitivity, the individual may gain some understanding of the processes at work but no amount of experience can compensate for the lack of childhood socialization in the community. Thus while the local detachment deals formally with a Chief, council and some form of band or community administration, and while these structures parallel those found in non-Native communities, there are significant differences in the basis for, and exercise of, power and influence. The kind of assumptions and mutual understandings, and hence relationships, that are possible with a non-Native community are not possible in a Native community - at least to anything like the same degree.

The most important reasons for this are found in the persistence of traditional, non-European culture. In spite of assimilation, ethno-cultural identifications remain a part of Native communities and their interaction with the institutions of non-Native society. A Chief and council, however elected or chosen, operate on a different authority basis, and with different powers, from a mayor and town council. They reflect in their membership and internal relationships all the structures, influences and conflicts of the community. The community in turn has different expectations of them, their role in the community and their dealings with

non-Native society. The role of the elders is important in that, as they represent more traditional norms and values, they provide broad checks on the operation of the elected leadership.

What the police organization deems effective policing may not be so considered by the community and its leaders. The police in a Native community are judged not only on the basis of the services provided but also on the basis of their understanding of community processes. The Native community is generally small and homogeneous making police actions highly visible. Because the police are the agents of an external institution and society, they are often seen from a conflict perspective. They therefore may find it difficult and frustrating to attempt their job, as they are compelled to do it, and find that the community is either indifferent or antagonistic. Pax Ottawa is often difficult to enforce. Without co-operation and mutual understanding policing is problematic.

Most police are outsiders in the Native community and no amount of training or experience will substitute for the lack of early socialization in that community. Almost all are from a different cultural tradition, have experienced different socialization processes, and reflect as a consequence, different norms and values. They usually don't live in the Native community and even if they do, social distance creates a considerable degree of separation. Public relations programs are certainly commendable and may even promote some understanding of the police role in the community. They are however not a substitute for community membership and participation. The officer who is physically and/or socially separated from the community, whose understanding is limited by inadequate training, and who is influenced by his own socialization in a different community, is at a disadvantage. The ethnocentrism found in terms of cultural norms and values, organizations, and attitudes is understandable in this context. The role and status of Native Special Constables in this regard is

even more difficult. They are marginal to the Native community by virtue of their police officer status and, at the same time, are marginal to the police organization because of the two statuses; "Special" and "Native". As a consequence, personal, interpersonal and organizational conflicts are frequent.

As is apparent, cultural factors are intimately entwined with the structural aspects of Native communities although their importance is often unrecognized or underestimated by the police in their dealings with them. Cultural impact may come from two directions: the vestiges of aboriginal culture, particularly values; and the manifestations of interaction with the larger society, what might be described as political "Indianness". The former includes child-rearing practices and attitudes toward material possessions while the latter is manifested in brotherhoods and politicization of relations with non-Native society. These are efforts to retain cultural identity on the one hand and to cope with change and the impingements of the external society on the other.

In spite of the generations of pressure from Euro-Canadian society, Native peoples are unlikely to suddenlyassimilate fully. Even if they wish to do so, socio-economic barriers stand in their way - to say nothing of prejudice and discrimination. Indeed, in most parts of Canada we have witnessed a resurgence in Native history and traditions as well as legal and political efforts to retain their identity and strengthen their position in society. If the police are not aware of these processes, and the implications for relations with the non-Native society, serious conflicts are inevitable. The policing of Native communities thus becomes increasingly politicized.

Socialization processes, have considerable impact on individuals' perceptions of social reality and on attitudes and behaviour. Individuals learn what is appropriate behaviour in parti-

cular circumstances, including contact with the police. From a different background, and often with little training, non-Native officers are frequently faced with situations they do not fully understand, and with attitudes and behaviour to which divergent meanings can be attached. Ethnocentrism is not uncommon in this or any other inter-group context and, while not necessarily problematic, it may have unfortunate consequences if it finds expression in individuals' behaviour. Two common examples of this are judgements based upon attitudes toward material possessions and the application of white middle-class concepts of "work" to Native communities. Individuals who more closely conform to a conception of what should be - i.e. maintain a neat, painted house, have a lawn and hold a nine-to-five job - may be regarded, consciously or unconsciously, more positively than those who fit more negative stereotypes. The potential impact on behaviour is readily apparent.

1. b. What special or unique policing problems are found in Native communities?

In addition to the general issues, a number of more specific policing problems emerged during the research; problems that are either unique to Native communities or are indicative of common problems with unique features in Native communities. The police officer in a Native community is an outsider. Regular Members occupy this status by virtue of their police role and, generally, because they are non-Native. Special Constables, although Native, are also police officers, a role which sets them apart from the community; a position exacerbated if they are from a different community or tribe. A "we-they" perspective almost inevitably develops in policing that can have a major impact on police work in the community. The Native Special Constable may experience particular problems in this regard if he or she is regarded as an "uncle tomahawk" or an "apple" by the community.

In many communities, the police are considered by many as an

unfortunate consequence of contact with Euro-Canadian society and struggles may ensue as the community and the police attempt to define working parameters of the police role in the community. There are situations in which the police are wanted - for particular purposes. The fact that situations and purposes are frequently defined differently by the Native community leads to a measure of conflict. Many officers recognize this and note the frustrations that result. The police, for example, are a convenient, relatively impersonal, and external third party that can intervene in inter- or intra- family disputes. Although charges are often not followed through, to the dismay of many officers, the community's conception of order has been maintained with minimal strain on social relationships.

In Native communities, the seriousness of some "offences" may be defined rather differently by the community on one hand and by the police on the other. The police are charged with providing universal enforcement of laws regarded, in many instances, as inappropriate by the community. Hunting and fishing regulations, and much liquor legislation fall in this grey area. More serous offences can also fall into this area if community standards of apprehension and punishment are not met. On the one hand, community knowledge and proof may not meet legal requirements and on the other, punishment accorded by a court may seem excessive for "offences" considered minor by the community. While much of this lies outside the direct control of the police, they remain a visible manifestation of the "system".

Native languages create a broad communications barrier between police and community. Subtleties of meaning can seldom be communicated in translation although they may be very important. At the same time, the inability to speak or understand English well can be used as a convenient excuse to avoid problems or involvement. The language factor may lead to a reliance on mediators of communication between community, individuals, and police; a potentially influential role.

Compared to most non-Native communities, Native communities are quite small and homogenous. There are strong and extensive patterns of kin-based interaction allowing information to be shared broadly and quickly in the community. Kinship ties extend beyond into other Native communities, often at some considerable distance, thus extending the communication network. Brotherhoods and other Native associations provide more formal linkage and communication between widely dispersed communities and across tribal boundaries. When combined with efforts to reinforce identity at the community and organizational levels, the sense of a "we-they" relationship is strengthened.

The individual officer working in a Native community has little personal anonymity. He or she is watched closely, labeled, categorized and known widely in the community. This was almost as strong at Site I where contact with the Native community was minimal, as at Site III where contact was constant. The Native community reacts to the individual, as well as to the uniform, and judges accordingly. The non-Native community makes fewer distinctions among officers; reacting primarily to the role and status. There may be exceptions to this in the case of Native Special Constables when Native identification is significant in the perception of the non-Native community. In addition, Native communities tend to judge officers, and the police as a whole, on the basis of previous experiences. While this certainly occurs in all communities to some degree, the small size, homogeneity and communications in the Native community make it an important factor. Negative feelings generated by an individual officer's actions or attitudes persist due to stereotyping processes and outsider status. This is particularly true for detachment commanders and their impact on police - Native community relationships.

The police in a Native community often find themselves inadvertently caught up in, or made the scapegoat for, conflicts with other government agencies, for example, enforcement of fishing re-

gulations. The complex interaction of band, organizational, provincial and federal politics can cause officers much consternation.In many cases, the police are compelled to act against the wishes or beliefs of a majority and enforce laws and regulations set externally and regarded as being of questionable legitimacy. In these circumstances the police and their actions thus also assume the mantle of illegitimacy.

Where policing involves status Indians, and of course the Indian Act, additional unique problems are encountered: one group having a special status under the law that others in the same community do not. This is complicated if non-Natives regard the special status and rights of status Indians with suspicion and indeed hostility.

Remote or isolated postings, although not a uniquely "Native policing" phenomenon, create difficulties for officers and their families. While the officer himself has the routine of work, spouses may experience problems in adapting to the community, especially if exposure to isolated Native communities has been limited. Social interaction is often difficult and limited by the nature of the police role itself, limited alternatives, the need to avoid the appearance of favoritism, and reticence due to unfamiliarity with Native people. At the same time, because of social distance and the police role, social interaction initiated by the Native community is infrequent or quite formal. Concerns about educational facilities and opportunities for children are common and will likely increase as the Force population ages and fewer young members are available for work in remote areas.

Discretion, a commonly accepted aspect of policing, is problematic in Native communities because of the lack of shared meanings generated through socialization. The officer may fear that if he or she is perceived as overly lenient, people may try to take advantage; and if overly strict, that conflict with the com-

munity will ensue. These concerns are always present in policing but are of greater concern in Native and other culturally diverse communities; especially when "political" considerations may be a factor. In short, officers experience difficulty in relating police work, regulations or "the book", and the law to the needs and demands of the Native community. This is especially problematic as these needs and demands are often nebulous, poorly defined and inadequately articulated except in a broad "political" sense.

1. c. What assistance might be provided to the police and to the community to alleviate these problems?

As the research progressed, it became very clear that the state of communication and mutual understanding between police and Native communities left much to be desired. The Native community, be it a reserve or the Native component of a town, has an existence and identity apart from the larger society. Frequently, the police role is at odds with community expectations placing officers in a difficult position. The police are often visible manifestations of what the Native community regards as an unjust external system. As it is unlikely that the larger Canadian society will move willingly or quickly to overcome the economic deprivation and social isolation of many Native people, and equally as unlikely that Native people desire, or be able, to totally assimilate, the basic underlying problems will remain. It therefore is important that the police be more aware of the causes and consequences of these processes.

If a reasonable goal is the provision of policing services to Native communities, in a manner which is equitable and <u>seen to be so</u>, the idea that "real police work" involves more than just law enforcement will have to continue to grow. Peacekeeping and service functions in the Native community, as part of a comprehensive preventive policing orientation, will receive accordingly greater emphasis. In considering these issues, it may be useful to re-

assess the selection and staffing processes of detachments serving Native communities. Detachments with mixed responsibilities for policing Native and non-Native communities, municipal and rural policing responsibilities for example, pose special problems with respect to an equitable provision of services given different demands on time and resources. In the context of contemporary Canadian society, a new constitution, growing articulation of Native rights and an increasingly sophisticated and politically astute Native leadership, the issue of "Native policing" will demand continuing, critical, scrutiny.

2. a. How adequate is the education and/or training of officers posted to detachments serving Native populations?

   b. What type of training has been, or may be, best suited to effective policing of Native communities?

In general, any discussion of this topic depends on how "effective" is defined, at the policy level and operationally at the local detachment level. Is it defined in terms of the larger society, or the local community; in terms of organizational expediency or community needs? This research, and the literature, suggest that most officers regard their job as primarily one of law enforcement, especially in the Native community. This perception of their job by officers persists <u>in spite of</u> the many non-law enforcement services that are provided to the community. As the goal is to provide policing services for the community <u>as a whole</u> then current training which apparently encourages this perception can be described as only partially adequate. With improvements, the liabilities of ethnocentrism, stereotyping and even prejudice and discrimination will diminish, as all certainly desire. Where is the emphasis to lie: on law enforcement primarily or on the totality of policing responsibilities to the community?

3. What is the role of Native Special Constables in policing Native communities and how are they perceived by both other officers and the community?

In many respects the status, and thus the role, of Native Special Constables is marginal to both the Native community and the police and expressions of ambivalence are not uncommon. The day-to-day role of the Native Special Constable varies considerably depending on the situation in any given detachment and, in particular, on the attitude and perception of the detachment commander: from a "full" detachment member sharing totally in the work to, at the other extreme, primarily public relations functions with the Native community.

The ambivalence of the Native Special Constables may be reinforced or reduced depending on the perceptions, attitudes and actions of Regular Members and of the Native community. Many Regular Members have difficulty in seeing the Special Constables' role as involving much "real police work". Special Constables are frequently seen as explainers of, or suppliers of information about, the Native community. In general, they are regarded as Natives first and police officers second. This creates difficulties in that the Native community's perception is frequently the reverse; police officers who just happen to be Native. Thus, a considerable gap may exist between Special Constables and the Native community, diminishing their intended function. Just as he or she is to some degree an outsider in the Native community, the Special Constable is also an outsider in the detachment.

THE FUTURE

Obviously, in dealing with such a broad and complex topic it is impossible to propose simple solutions. However, several dimensions identified in the research are of critical importance in future relations between the police and Native communities. We begin with the not unreasonable assumption that few if any significant changes will occur in the socio-economic position of most Native communities in the near future. We also begin with the empirical generalization that greater mutual knowledge and understanding cannot but assist in developing positive relationships and in reducing ignorance, apathy and misunderstanding and their correlates; stereotypes, ethnocentrism, prejudice and discrimination.

In such a process, education is of course a key factor whether it be formal education, or in-service training and can be approached from several directions. Along with sustained encouragement of continuing education in general, more specific needs might be met by working with universities in different regions to develop degree credit correspondence courses focusing on the situation of Native peoples. Such courses ideally would be interdisciplinary (anthropology, history, sociology, political science, etc.) and have both theoretical and practical orientation.

With respect to in-service education, consideration might be given to developing a Preventive or Community Policing Course, specifically oriented toward Native communities, in consultation with Native leaders and organizations. Courses for trainers or persons with specific responsibility in this area could be offered in two formats: one amendable to classroom teaching (at the Canadian Police College for example); and one available by correspondence using current communications technology. In the process, a thorough review or evaluation of those aspects of recruit training that pertain to Native people would be desirable in order to as-

sess their appropriateness, relevance and utility. A similar evaluative review of the impact and effectiveness of the Cross-Cultural course might also prove useful.

However, working contact is at the detachment level. Accordingly, strong support to detachments for the development and implementation of localized orientation/training for new members seems appropriate. Such "programs" need involve no more than a day or so and yet would ease and hasten the integration of new members in the detachment and the community. Using written materials, structured "tours" and discussions with detachment personnel and community people, the new member would gain early knowledge about the community, its history, structure, culture, and police work in it, from the perspective of Natives and non-Natives, police and civilians. The involvement of local Native people with appropriate knowledge and status would be an important facet of the package. This is an inexpensive way to increase officer knowledge and effectiveness quickly, and one with much potential for improving police-community relations at the same time.

While it is obvious that not all personal desires and capabilities can be accommodated in a police organization, it is equally obvious that not all officers are equally able to work with Native communities. Given the developing "political" awareness of Native communities, the selection of the most suitable officers for such work will assume even greater importance. This is of course especially important in remote areas where family considerations may also be of some significance. Broad, thorough assessment of abilities and potential for work in such detachments may reduce the likelihood of later problems.

Given the marginality of Native Special Constables, yet their unique knowledge and potential for bridging the gap between police and community, efforts to enhance their role and status might very profitably be expanded. With due consideration to merit and

effort on their part this can ultimately lead to a more prominent position in, and greater responsibility for, policing Native communities: and result in greater satisfaction with policing by all concerned. A study involving former Native Special Constables might be very useful to explore these issues as well as factors that influence their decision to remain in the R.C.M.P. or resign. Circumstances have changed considerably in the last five or six years and the findings of earlier works in this area concerned with the R.C.M.P.[27,29] or with specific tribal police programs[30] may well be in need of up-dating and re-assessment. A more recent evaluation of the Ontario Indian Constable Program[31] demonstrates clearly the complexity "Native" policing and the role of Native officers.

There is an increasing body of literature, including that by insightful police officers such as John Alderson,[2] pointing to the numerous benefits to be gained by greater community involvement in the policing process. These arguments are based on the principle that greater community involvement in the decision-making processes will contribute to greater feelings of responsibility for policing the community. It is increasingly recognized that it is unreasonable to expect communities alienated from the law, and policing, to be overly concerned with, or supportive of, processes they may feel are imposed upon them. It might be appropriate and beneficial to solicit and give serious consideration to input from Native communities and leaders in determining policing needs and priorities in the community. The perception, especially among those defined as militants, that the police are an occupying force of an external society may never be completely eliminated but it certainly can be reduced.

In a similar vein, greater resources for the expansion of a broad range of community relations activities may have significant positive results, especially when directed toward young people. Encouragement and support for such activities at the detachment

level is essential. Broadly defined and implemented preventive policing, and policies that emphasize the peacekeeping/service dimensions of policing as well as law enforcement, will have significant future benefits.

These comments are concerned with the present and relations with the Native community in the immediate future. They assume continuing involvement in, and responsibility for, the provision of policing services to Native communities. This responsibility is the legacy of the past and the reality of the present. Canada is, however, a dynamic social system. Social, political and economic conditions have changed, are changing, and will continue to change in the context of constant interplay between organizations, interest groups, and governments. In these circumstances it is important to consider the long-term possibility, probability, or desirability of continued responsibility for such policing services.

The question underlying such consideration is, of course, who has or assumes the responsibility and who is best able to provide the policing services demanded or necessary. Looking beyond the eighties, it may be timely for police, political and Native officials to consider alternatives for Native - especially reserve - policing given a changing social, economic and political environment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Adams, Howard. Prisons of Grass - Canada from the Native Point of View. Toronto: New Press, 1975.

2. Alderson, John. Policing Freedom. Estover, Plymouth: Macdonald and Evans, 1979.

3. Carter, Carson B. The Policing of the Reserve Indian. M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1976.

4. Caves, Bill. Our Own House, Liaison Vol. 7, 1981.

5. Cohen, F.G. The Indian Patrol in Minneapolis: Social Control and Social Change in an Urban Context, Law Society Review. Vol. 7, 1973.

6. Dosman, Edgar J. Indians: The Urban Dilemma. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

7. Ericson, Richard V. Making Crime: A Study of Detective Work. Toronto: Butterworths, 1981.

8. Etheridge, David. Law Enforcement on Indian Reservations, The Police Chief. April, 1977.

9. Forslund, Morris A. and William C. Cockersham. Attitudes Toward the Police Among White and Native Indian Youth, American Indian Law Review, Vol. 3, 1975.

10. Hill, J.T. RCMP Native Special Constable Program, RCMP Quarterly. Vol. 43, 1978.

11. Canada. Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Report - Task Force on Policing on Reserves. Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

12. Jayewardene, C.H.S. Policing the Indian, Crime and Justice. Vol. 7/8, 1979/80.

13. Jefferson, Christine. Referral List of Recommendations from the Conference on Native Peoples and the Criminal Justice System. Ottawa: Meeting of the Canadian Advisory Council on Native Peoples and the Criminal Justice System (Document NO. ACN-4), 1975.

14. Jolly, Stan. Natives in Conflict with the Law, Correctional Options. Vol. 2, 1982.

15. Klein, John F., Jim R. Webb and J.E. DiSanto. Experience with the Police and Attitude Towards the Police, Canadian Journal of Sociology. Vol. 3, 1978.

16. Metis and Non-Status Indian Crime and Justice Commission. Report. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1978.

17. Monture, Gilbert C. et al. Indians and the Law. Ottawa: The Canadian Corrections Association, 1967.

18. Nagler, Mark. Natives without a Home. Don Mills: Longman Canada, 1975.

19. National Minority Advisory Council on Criminal Justice. The Inequality of Justice: A Report on Crime and the Administration of Justice in the Minority Community. Washington, DC: 1982.

20. Parnell, Ted. We Mean No Harm - Yukon Indian - Police Relations: A Preliminary Survey of Attitudes. Whitehorse: Yukon Association of Non-Status Indians, 1979.

21. Quinney, R. The Social Reality of Crime. Boston, MA:Little Brown and Company, 1970.

22. Schmeisser, Douglas A. The Native Offender and the Law. Law Reform Commission of Canada, Ottawa: Information Canada.

23. Skoog, Douglas, Lance W. Roberts and Edward D. Boldt. Native Attitudes Toward the Police, Canadian Journal of Criminology. Vol. 22, 1980.

24. Canada. Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada. Population by Selected Ethnic Groups - Advance Information. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1983.

25. Stratton, John. Cops and Drunks: Police Attitudes and Actions in Dealing with Indian Drunks, International Journal of the Addictions. Vol. 8, 1973.

26. No author. Dakota-Ojibuay Police Reserves in Manitoba. Liaison, Vol. 4, 1979.

27. Van Dyke, Edward W. and K.C. Jamont. Through Indian Eyes: Perspectives of Indian Special Constables on the 36 Program in "F" Division. Report prepared for Native Policing Section, R.C.M.P. "F" Division, Regina, 1980.

28. Shibutani, Tamotsu and Kian M. Kwan. Ethnic Stratification - A Comparative Approach. Toronto: Collier-MacMillan, 1965.

29. Evalucan Ltd. Evaluation of the R.C.M.P. Indian Special Constable Program (Option 3b). Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978.

30. Research Group, The. The Dakota-Ojibway Tribal Police Program - An Evaluation of the First Two Years. Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1980.

31. Social Policy Research Associates/The Evaluation Group Incorporated. An Evaluation of the Ontario Indian Constable Program. Toronto, 1983.